917.19 J95i
Junek $2.50
Isolated communities
Ap'38
Acc. No. 940302

917.19 J95i

Keep Your Card in This Pocket

Books will be issued only on presentation of proper library cards.

Unless labeled otherwise, books may be retained for four weeks. Borrowers finding books marked, defaced or mutilated are expected to report same at library desk; otherwise the last borrower will be held responsible for all imperfections discovered.

The card holder is responsible for all books drawn on this card.

Penalty for over-due books 2c a day plus cost of notices.

Lost cards and change of residence must be reported promptly.

THE SCHOOL DISTRICT OF KANSAS CITY, MISSOURI

Public Library
Kansas City, Mo.

Keep Your Card in This Pocket

BERKOWITZ ENVELOPE CO., K. C., MO.


KANSAS CITY, MO PUBLIC LIBRARY
0 0001 0153137 4

AMERICAN SOCIOLOGY SERIES

KIMBALL YOUNG, GENERAL EDITOR

AMERICAN SOCIOLOGY SERIES

Edited by KIMBALL YOUNG

THE COMMUNITY AND SOCIETY
AN INTRODUCTION TO SOCIOLOGY
By LORAN D. OSBORN
Los Angeles Institute of Family Relations
and
MARTIN H. NEUMEYER
University of Southern California

CURRENT SOCIAL PROBLEMS
By JOHN M. GILLETTE
University of North Dakota
and
JAMES M. REINHARDT
University of Nebraska

AN INTRODUCTORY SOCIOLOGY
By KIMBALL YOUNG
University Wisconsin

SOURCE BOOK FOR SOCIOLOGY
By KIMBALL YOUNG
University of Wisconsin

JUVENILE PROBATION
By BELLE BOONE BEARD
Sweet Briar College

PERSONALITY ADJUSTMENT AND DOMESTIC DISCORD
By HARRIET R. MOWRER
Jewish Social Service Bureau of Chicago

SOCIAL AND CULTURAL DYNAMICS
Volume One: Fluctuation of Forms of Art
Volume Two: Fluctuation of Systems of Truth, Ethics, and Law
Volume Three: Fluctuation of Social Relationships,
War, and Revolution
Volume Four: Basic Problems, Principles, and Methods
By PITIRIM A. SOROKIN
Harvard University

ISOLATED COMMUNITIES
By OSCAR WALDEMAR JUNEK
Member Exeter College, Oxford

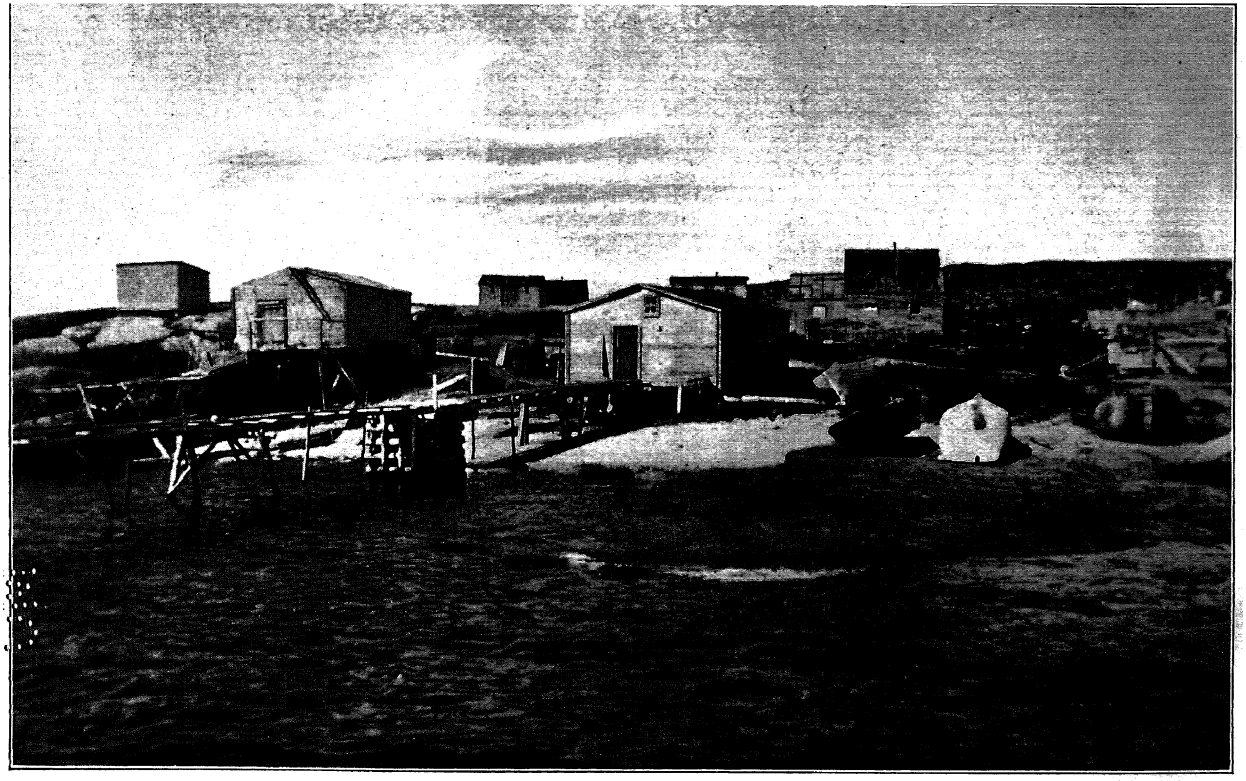


Photo by O. W. J.

The Village of Blanc Sablon

AMERICAN SOCIOLOGY SERIES

ISOLATED COMMUNITIES

A Study of a Labrador Fishing Village

By

OSCAR WALDEMAR JUNEK, M.A., F.R.S.A.

FOREWORD BY CLARK WISSLER

Curator of Anthropology,
American Museum of Natural History

AMERICAN BOOK COMPANY

NEW YORK · CINCINNATI · CHICAGO · BOSTON · ATLANTA

Oscar Waldemar Junek

Jsolated Communities

1937

PRINTED IN GERMANY

940302 MR

To

ROBERT REDFIELD

for his kind encouragement

this work is dedicated

CONTENTS

Page

FOREWORD xi

PREFACE xiii

INTRODUCTION xv

CHAPTER I. GENERAL HISTORICAL DATA.

Pioneers from France.—The Normans.—Jacques Cartier.—The Recollets.—The Franciscans.—A floating population.—Woman at first not brought over.—Woman a pivot of home life and a culture carrier.—Religious zeal typical of XVII Century Europe; its continuance in the New World.—The Jesuits and their influence on the *colons*.—Wars with English, ending with British domination.—Later arrivals from the Channel Islands.—The Jerseymen.—Settlers from western Quebec 1

CHAPTER II. THE LAND, THE SEA, AND THE PEOPLE. GENERAL SURVEY OF THE NORTH SHORE OF THE ST. LAWRENCE RIVER. PHYSICAL DATA. THE THREE ECOLOGIC ZONES.

I. Tadoussac to Betsiamites—Agriculture; II. Betsiamites to Sept Iles—Lumbering and Hunting; III. Sept Iles to Blanc Sablon—Fishing and Trapping.—Zone III the domain of the present study.—Gross ecology and central activity pattern of Zone III.—Census listing settlements of the North Shore, with their approximate distances from Quebec and from one another, and the populations and central activity patterns of each 10

CHAPTER III. THE LAND, THE SEA, AND THE PEOPLE. ORGANIZATION OF THE COMMUNITY OF BLANC SABLON. LABRADORIAN COMMUNITIES.

The four classes in Labrador.—Sizes of Labradorian communities determined by physical and economic factors.—Chart showing organization pattern of Blanc Sablon.—Brador (Bras d'Or).—Interdependence of Blanc Sablon and Longue Pointe 20

CHAPTER IV. THE ANNUAL SOCIO-ECONOMIC CYCLE OF ZONE III. TECHNOLOGY.

The cod industry.—Socio-economic participation.—Cod-Liver oil.—Washing of cod.—Berry picking.—Drying of cod.—Herring fishing.—Wood gathering.—The dog culture complex.—Trapping and hunting.—Sealing.—"Barking" or tanning of seal-hides.—Resumé of annual socio-economic cycle 26

Page

CHAPTER V. SOCIAL ORGANIZATION, COHESION AND INTERACTION OPERATING WITHIN BLANC SABLON.

Population inventory by age and sex.—Household composition and kinship.—The six integrations.—The small family.—The "sib".—The settlement.—Visiting.—Communication within the community.—Blanc Sablon and the social status of its inhabitants.—Longue Pointe and the social status of its inhabitants.—Self-created status 59

CHAPTER VI. THINGS SACRED.

The religious life and beliefs of the Blanc Sablonites.—The Lourdes de Blanc Sablon.—The attitude toward the *curé* and his importance.—Religious *mores* as social control.—The belief in ghosts and spirits.—The "lights".—Tales concerning buried gold and treasure.—The Black Goelette incident.—The Mistanoque incident 76

CHAPTER VII. THE MARKET AND THE FACTORY.

Commercial exploitation of the community.—Trade and barter ethics of the Hudson's Bay Company.—The Hudson's Bay Company "Sharemen".—Stock obtainable through the Hudson's Bay Company.—The L. T. Blais Company, Ltd.—Borrowing. History of the Hudson's Bay Company

The Isolated Folk system of Blanc Sablon contrasted with the western city system. Present day communication to and from Blanc Sablon. Chart showing extent of civilizatory influence from western urban Quebec.—Indispensable traits of modern western civilization.—The folk pattern of Blanc Sablon affected but slightly by city ways. Extent to which Blanc Sablon is affected. Culture pattern accretion of Blanc Sablon. Modern sanitation and hygiene absent in Blanc Sablon.—Table showing condition of health of women in Blanc Sablon 85

CHAPTER VIII. RELATIONS WITH OUTSIDE AUTHORITY AND IMPERSONAL REGULATION.

Prohibitions relating to migrating bird laws.—Other institutionalized law (legislation, codification, administration) nonexistent.—Legal enforcement of education of minors absent.—The state revenue.—The Douanier.—Universal suffrage.—Knowledge and regard of personalities rather than codified law systems.—Rare violations of codified laws.—Communal opinion controlling local situations 117

CHAPTER IX. RESUMÉ. ANALYSIS, AND CONCLUSIONS 122

ILLUSTRATIONS

Page

The Village of Blanc Sablon Frontispiece

The Coastline of Labrador xviii

Distribution of the Aboriginal American People at the Time of French Colonization xix

A Labradorian Physical Type 7

Eskimo-White Amalgamation 8

A map of Labrador and its adjacent sections 9

An Iceberg in Midsummer 13

The Bay of Blanc Sablon 21

Chart showing the three ecologic zones and main human industries of the North Shore of the St. Lawrence River and Canadian and Newfoundland Labrador 26

A "Stage" 29

"Flakes" 31

Le Cométique 39

Labradorian Sled-Dogs 41

Sealskin on Frame 42

Pattern Used in the Making of "Pacs" 44

An Example of Hooked Rug Design 48

A Typical Labradorian Fisherman's Hut 53

Furniture: 1. Design of a Home-Made Bench; 2. Design of a Home-Made Cupboard; 3. Design of a Home-Made Sofa 55

Chart showing the social organization of the community of Blanc Sablon 61

"Becalmed" (Schooner "Alice", a Conveyance Used by the Author) 129

FOREWORD

To study communities is now a kind of academic fashion. Many of the plans projected for such studies seem to have no underlying objectives or appear to have been entered upon as in a picnic excursion, anticipating intellectual excitement and a feeling of academic respectability, hoping that somehow the mere description of community life would be a contribution to social science. The volume we are about to read was not so conceived. Its author had, first of all, a problem, the isolated community. This determined the direction of his quest, he did not search for a city like Middletown, but for a small village upon the folk level. He assumed that civilization is something more than the simple natural folk ways of a cluster of families. To his way of thinking such a village like a tribe, may be largely self-contained, yet caught up and enmeshed in a complex called a nation, but at the same time hold on to its past, be largely self-sufficient and operate almost entirely by folk ways, thus constituting a culture in the usual meaning of that term.

The author sought such a cluster of families upon the bleak shores of Labrador. Isolation is, after all, a relative term, for what he found was a row of such clusters dotting the shore of the great peninsula, the gulf stretching away into the mists on one side, the sub-arctic wilderness in the rear. Here the author found not only his isolated community, but a kind of elongated culture area, a number of such communities, highly self-contained and similar in folk ways. In such a setting the community chosen is just as fit a subject for a culture study as a single Indian tribe in its particular ecological galaxy. The reader will be made aware of culture influences emanating from civilized Quebec, eventually reaching cultural Blanc Sablon; it is linear diffusion in one direction, diminishing with the distance. What is thus carried may be quite secondary to the folk-life of Blanc Sablon but slowly operates toward change. The author has skillfully developed the integration

of the new and the old revealing social processes, so further comment is unnecessary.

There is, however, another contribution of no mean significance. Thus while anthropological methods were developed for the study of primitive communities and though the dream of many has been that these methods could be turned upon communities in civilized areas, the outcome has been far from inspiring. In this volume, on the other hand, the author points the way to the anticipated goal. He shows that when an attempt is made to study a civilized community in an anthropological way, attention should be given to small units with rich folk backgrounds and persistent self-sufficient complexes of folk-ways, or culture. The approach may be easier if the unit chosen is marginal. The initial step is, then, to find this natural core of human social behavior which the author chooses to call culture. Once discovered, one may seek its position with respect to neighboring and distant communities and finally its place in the national framework. By such procedure the detailed descriptions of community life can be given meaning. Such, at least, the author finds in tiny but deeply human Blanc Sablon.

NEW YORK CLARK WISSLER

PREFACE

This study, which concerns itself with the old, isolated, French folk communities of both Canadian and Newfoundland Labrador, and, in especial, with Blanc Sablon of Canadian Labrador, was first conceived in the winter of 1927, begun in August, 1933, interrupted in September of the same year, resumed in June, 1934, and completed in September 1934.

The work was first stimulated, to a certain extent, by the results of Roderick Peattie's shorter investigation in 1918 along the Lower St. Lawrence Valley;[1] although his efforts were confined mainly to that territory between Isle d'Orleans, just below Quebec, and Cap des Monts, both on the North Shore, and Cap Chat on the South Shore.

In particular should be mentioned a certain indebtedness to Robert Redfield's *Tepoztlan*—in fact, it was mainly Dr. Redfield's publication, his personal encouragement, and continued interest in his old classmate which gave inspiration to and furthered the undertaking of this project.

The author is likewise indebted to M. Arthur Bergeron, Assistant Deputy Minister of Roads of Quebec; to Mr. Edwin Hawken, of Ottawa, Assistant Deputy Minister of Marine, for information concerning certain Newfoundland origins; to Captain L. T. Blais, of Mutton Bay, Canadian Labrador; to Captain John Hearn, of Harbor Grace, Newfoundland, Skipper of the government lighthouse-supply boat, "Aranmore," for information regarding Newfoundland influences on the French Canadian folk around the Strait of Belle Isle; to Captain Grandy, of the Newfoundland schooner, "Alice," for information concerning weather conditions around Newfoundland and Labrador and in the Strait of Belle Isle; to Mr. and Mrs. Jean Letemplier, of Greenly Island, whose direct and informal

[1] Roderick Peattie, "The Isolation of the Lower St. Lawrence Valley," *The Geographical Review*, Vol. V, No. 2 (February, 1918).

discourses helped inestimably to throw much searching light upon certain family and sib situations obtaining among the folk of Blanc Sablon which might not otherwise have been fully understood save by a more protracted stay in the Labrador country; to Père N. A. Labrie, the charming and learned *curé* of La Tabatière, whose extensive pioneering in the backwoods country enabled him to point out for the author civilizatory progress northeastward from Quebec; to MM. Edouard and Frédéric Cormier, of Longue Pointe de Blanc Sablon, the first in capacity of Revenue Officer, the second as captain and owner of the yacht, "Hope," which was placed unreservedly at the disposal of the author; to M. Daniel Lapointe, of Tadoussac, government telegraph inspector, whose guidance in the backwoods country helped to make possible the tracing of meagre threads of civilization, and with whom the author and his companion made extended treks over the Laurentians, viewing almost inaccessible places over which the Canadian government's thin telegraph wire is spanned to reach a few scattered and highly isolated villages consisting only of two, three, and sometimes ten families; to Dick Schatler, the author's half-breed Eskimo guide and friend, whose native knowledge of the intricate archipelagoes, rivers, and mountains of the country around Blanc Sablon proved of great help; to Messrs. H. F. and R. M. Lewis, of Ottawa, who pointed out the local flora and fauna and their relationship to the folk with which the author was concerned; to Mr. W. L. Holdefer, student-companion for his photographic help; and last, to the unassuming fisherfolk of Canadian and Newfoundland Labrador.

To Dr. Clark Wissler for his reading of the manuscript and his suggestive, succinct foreword the author's indebtedness is manifest.

Finally, the author acknowledges his especial gratitude to Mr. Fredrik Feltham, of Chicago, for his invaluable editorial assistance in arranging the notes taken on the field trip and casting them into manuscript form.

April 1937 Oscar Waldemar Junek

Exeter College, Oxford.

INTRODUCTION

In the present study an attempt was made to describe the culture of a folk community and also to differentiate this folk culture from another, that of a complex urban society. Culture in modern anthropology is often spoken of as social heritage and is often synonymously used with civilization. However, it is more convenient to use the two terms distinctively reserving civilization for a special aspect of social heritage,[1] namely, the complex urban type of culture or city culture. Although it is at times difficult to give a close definition of these two aspects of social heritage, an approximation may be offered in the following terms: Culture is an organization of ways of life growing up in an isolated local group. Such a culture tends to be sacred; whereas civilization is more secular and general, resulting from culture contacts and the extension of intercultural elements, and leading to a more complex social product. We may, therefore, also view the differences between the two social heritages on the basis of simplicity and complexity.

It is proposed in this study to report on the mode of living with reference to these distinctions, an isolated Labrador fishing village having been chosen to illustrate these points.

Blanc Sablon lies almost equidistantly between the complex and highly mechanized society of Quebec and the southwest tip of Greenland. It may well be said to be far-flung and isolated. "The sparsely-wooded mountains shadowing the valley, the steep cliffs which rise, at places, straight up from the river bank, the comparative inaccessibility of stretches of lowland available for agriculture, the scarcity of good harbors from the Gulf to Quebec—all are natural factors which have combined to isolate the inhabitants from the rest of the world, and even to a surprising degree from one another... The primitive economy of the

[1]Bronislaw Malinowski, "Culture," *Encyclopedia of Social Science*, Vol. IV, 621.

hinterlands, the imperfect communication, and the lack of doorways by which one may enter the territory have been formidable barriers to cultural exchange."[2]

It is a region of restricted opportunity, lacking most of the qualities that make life easier elsewhere. Its soil is infertile—the surface almost everywhere is rugged and stony; its coast is forbidding; and its weather inclement. The acreage of habitable land is meagre to an extreme, and the whole area remote and difficult of access. Thus, the habitant's opportunities for making a living are limited indeed. He must shape his life to meet the exigencies and limitations imposed upon him by his unfriendly environment. And in time his attitudes and even his character become affected by the hardships of his hostile milieu. "Adjustment to the subarctic regions means not only adjustment to a very cold climate, but it means adjustment to poverty of materials with which to build and work, poverty of vegetation and foods, poverty of opportunity, poverty of associations, poverty of mental stimuli, and, normally, an almost complete absence of all that makes for civilization."[3] Where conditions such as the preceding prevail, such regions are generally avoided, unless there is some compelling reason for staying there.[4] In this present instance the reason is to be found in the fishing industry. Cod and salmon, with occasional seals, are plentiful around Blanc Sablon; and a larger population than at present exists could be easily supported were it possible to augment the regimen of the folk by articles of diet—fresh meat, vegetables, etc.—other than fish.

In turning our attention now to the Blanc Sablonites themselves we must look upon them as folk in the strictest sense of the word. A folk is an isolated group differing from a nationality in that it is not highly group conscious. It has little or no communication with the outside world, but much within its own confines. If it possesses

[2]Roderick Peattie, "The Isolation of the Lower St. Lawrence Valley," *The Geographical Review*, Vol. V, No. 2 (February, 1918).

[3]Ray H. Whitbeck and Olive J. Thomas, *The Geographic Factor* (The Century Co., 1932), p. 107.

[4]"Not only are regions that are poor in economic resources unusually thinly populated, but they are frequently characterized by groups whose composition and quality seem to a large degree determined by a paucity of opportunity. Sociologists, in studying the relations between the people and the land, have divided environments into two fundamental types based on the power of the region to maintain a society—viz., those that are so poorly endowed with natural resources that they can maintain and attract only relatively small numbers of inhabitants, and those that, being richly endowed, support large populations of indigenous types, and tend to draw a large immigration from elsewhere." Each of these types of environment may be subdivided in turn into two well-marked divisions: a. the isolated, or difficult either of access or egress; and b. the accessible, to and from which the tides of population may easily flow. (Cf. Franklin H. Giddings, *Studies in the Theory of Human Society* [New York, 1920], p. 148.)

any collective body of oral expression, that expression is generally in the form of legends, folk songs, and folk lore, characterized by their essential naiveté, or lack of sophistication, and handed down orally from mouth to mouth and from generation to generation. Further, the folk have a distinct attitude toward objects and symbols, and these attitudes tend to be the same for all members of the group.[5]

The folk system of Blanc Sablon and its self-maintenance and fishing techniques have been acquired partly through social inheritance, most of the Blanc Sablonites having come from fishing villages of Normandy about the second half of the XVII Century, and partly through long habitation—or acculturation—in this part of the world. It is an isolated social body whose milieu affords a foundation for special cultural devices and their associated rules of conduct, enforced partly by the inclemency of the environment, and partly by the transmitted mores from which the present communal opinion proceeds, controlling the local situations. "Its prolonged isolation has produced a culture and a provincialism the strength of which is unmatched elsewhere upon this continent."[6]

Our study will likewise concern itself with the processes of retardation of social transformation; and with the sporadic acceptance of certain urban traits and complexes, and their appreciation and utilization for the purposes of social self-maintenance. It will weigh particularly the degrees of exposure to such urban traits and their associated behavior, the degrees of their infiltration and incorporation into an isolated community system, and its resultant marginality.

To restate our problem briefly: Knowing the origins of these people, their conditions of isolation and likewise their occasional contacts with the city system, we wish to determine to what extent their mode of life is to be regarded as a folk system (culture) and to what part of this same system may the term city system (civilization) be applied.

[5]For a more inclusive definition of folk *cf.* Tönnies' *Gemeinschaft und Gesellschaft* (Leipzig, 1887), p. 277 et. seq.; also Robert Redfield's *Tepoztlan, A Mexican Village* (The University of Chicago Press, 1930), pp. 1-2.

[6]Roderick Peattie, "The Isolation of the Lower St. Lawrence Valley," *The Geographical Review*, Vol. V, Nr. 2 (February, 1918). (For comparisons of the folk with the Urban system see also pp. 122-123 of the present study).

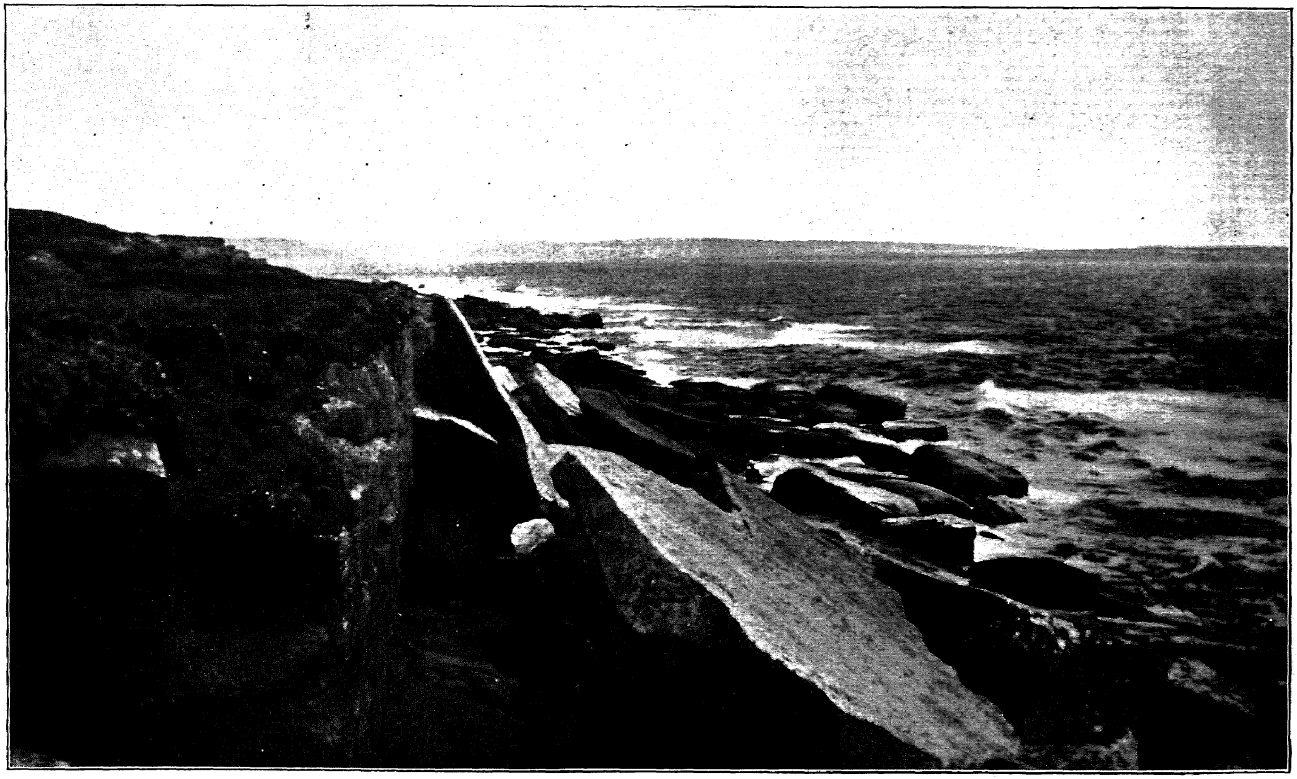
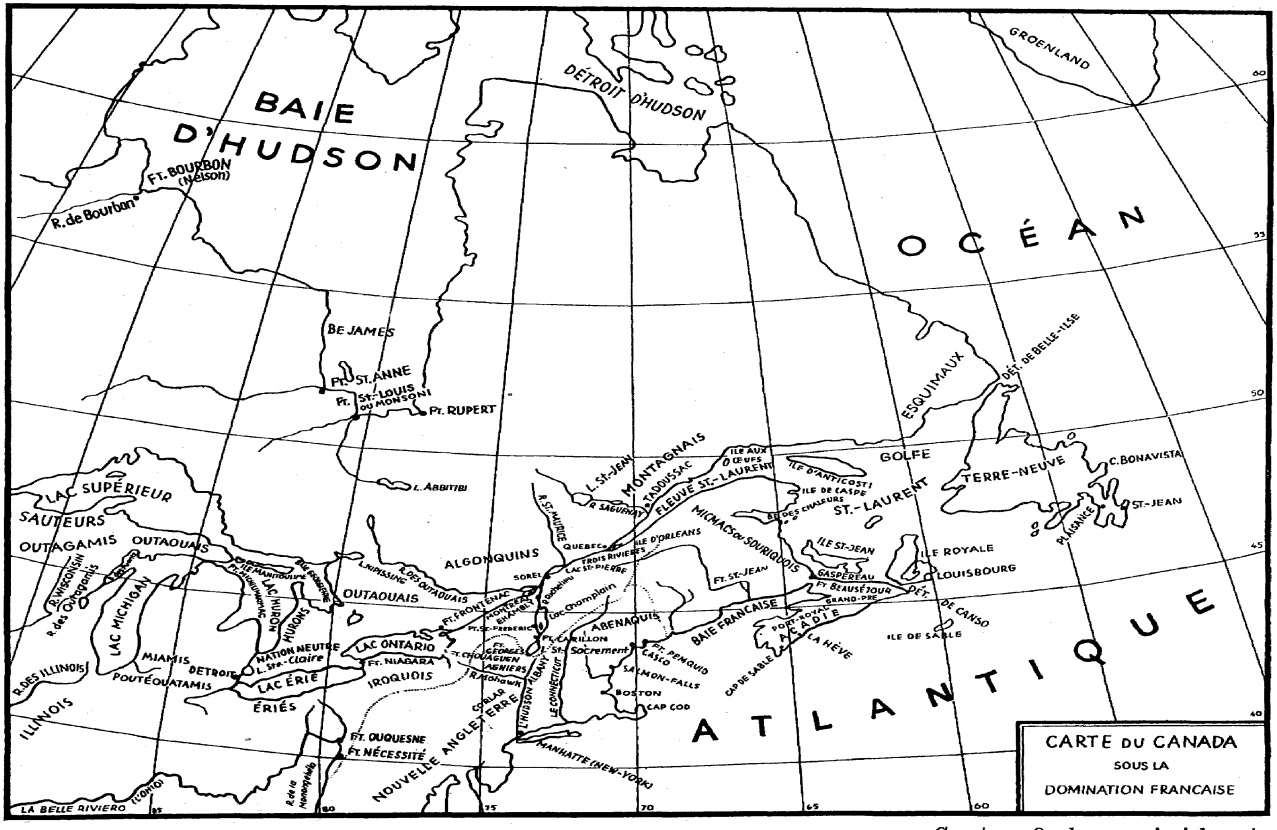


Photo by Wm. L. Holdefer

The Coastline of Labrador



Courtesy Quebec provincial govt.

Distribution of the Aboriginal American People at the Time of French Colonization

CHAPTER I

"The Normans,—the Bretons,—and the Basques,—all frequented from a very early date the codbanks of Newfoundland. There is some reason to believe that this fishery existed before the voyage of Cabot, in 1497; there is strong evidence that it began as early as the year 1504; and it is well-established that, in 1517, fifty Castilian, French, and Portuguese vessels were engaged in it at once; while, in 1527, on the 3rd of August, eleven sail of Norman, one of Breton, and two of Portuguese fishermen were to be found in the Bay of St. John. From this time forth the Newfoundland fishery was never abandoned... In January and February, 1545, about two vessels a day sailed for Newfoundland."[1] It was not, however, until the sixteenth century was well-advanced along its adventurous and colorful career that Canada—or New France—became conspicuously desirable as other than a lucrative, though forbiddingly distant fishing centre. The ancient town of St. Malo has been for centuries the home of mariners. "Among the earliest and most eminent on its list stands the name of Jacques Cartier. Sailing from St. Malo on the twentieth of April, 1534, Cartier steered for Newfoundland, passed through the Strait of Belle Isle, entered the Gulf of Chaleur, planted a cross at Gaspé, and, never doubting that he was on the highroad to Cathay, advanced up the St. Lawrence until he saw the shores of Anticosti."[2] Thus runs Parkman's account. But together with the spirit of discovery and adventure awakened long before the time of Cartier's sailing were other interests and ambitions, motives of conquest and of land exploitation all mingled with a religious zeal "scarcely less potent." "The heresy of Luther was convulsing Germany, and the deeper heresy of Calvin infecting France. Devout Catholics, kindling with redoubled zeal, would fain requite the Church for

[1] Francis Parkman, *Pioneers of France in the New World* (Little, Brown and Co., 1914), pp.202-203
[2] *Ibid., op. cit.*

her losses in the Old World by winning to her fold the infidels of the New.[3]

This year—1934—will witness the four hundred anniversary of Cartier's sailing, which will be celebrated in Gaspé, where he is purported to have planted a cross and the lilies of France. Motley group indeed though his was,—since Cartier, along with Roberval, was empowered to ransack the prisons and the slums and similar places of France in order to complete his crews and strengthen his colony,—it was destined to turn the page of an entirely new chapter of the history of western civilization. I cannot forbear mentioning at this point Greenly Island, about four miles out in the Bay of Blanc Sablon, where the notes for this study were organized. Cartier most probably first set foot on the soil of the New World on Greenly Island. He mentions it as the Isle-des-Oiseaux, indubitably from the many puffins which still nest on it; and the opposite island, lying northeasterly of Greenly Island, and bearing the same appellation to this day, he calls Isle-au-Bois.[4]

The period from Cartier's first landing on this continent up until New France began to administer her own affairs under a local, though still crown-controlled, government extends from 1534 to 1608. Between these two dates much missionary work was carried on by the Récollets, who were later to be supplanted by the Jesuits. The dominating influence of these missionaries stretched into this part of the New World[5] *(la Nouvelle-France sous l'administration des Compagnies)* from 1608 to 1663, when New France, for a period of thirteen years—1663-1676, passed into the direct control of the king of France.

Nor were the Franciscans—a reformed branch of the Récollet order, known sometime as the "Franciscans of the Strict Observance"—less zealous in doing missionary work and disseminating the articles of their creed. They were not entirely ousted by the Jesuits. Even as early as 1615 their rude garments and bare, unprotected feet could still be seen around Quebec. In fact they were the first missionaries to celebrate a mass in Canada at this city, which was then little better than a palisaded cluster of roughly-hewn huts set in the midst of a tangle of forest and shrubbery.[6]

[3]Francis Parkman, *Pioneers of France in the New World* (Little, Brown and Co., 1914).
[4]Francis Parkman, *Lettre de Cartier au Roi très Chrétien*, quoted in detail by Parkman.
[5]*Cf.* Francis Parkman, *Pioneers of France in the New World*.—"Lettre du P. Jean Dolbeau au P. Didace David, son ami; de Québec, le 20 Juillet, 1615" (Little, Brown, and Co., 1914).
[6]*Ibid., op. cit.*

The Indian tribes—particularly the Hurons, the Algonquins, and the Montagnais (a subdivision of the Algonquins), "the burghers, and the peasants and the paupers of the woods"—proved at first but slow converts to Christianity. It was the aim and hope of Champlain, as also of his successors, to persuade these wandering hordes to live at peace with one another, and to form a virtual league, which would continually widen and embrace at last the Iroquois tribes, of which the French colony would be the heart and head. With French arquebusiers to fight or help them in fighting their battles, French priests to baptize them, and French traders to supply their wants, the dependence of the Indians would thus easily be made complete. But, continues Parkman, basing his reports on those of Sagard, Le Clerc, Charavay, and others of the priestly order, the colony could not, and for some time did not, increase. He supports his statements by the fact that the earlier pioneers were fur-traders—and the interests of fur-traders are always opposed to those of settlement and population. Such men as these formed nearly all the scanty population of Canada. They had no permanent stake in the country, nor had any of the men in their employ. Few of them, if any, had brought wives to the colony, and none of them thought of cultivating the soil. They formed a floating population, kept from starving by yearly supplies from France.

Little do we realize the paramount importance of woman in these early days, and the peculiar influence she exerted. She, among all other factors, was the culture carrier. A well-known novelist of to-day conveys as clear-cut a picture of woman's position in the young colony as may be found. The year is 1697, and the place the old city of Quebec.[7]

[7]Willa Cather, *Shadows on the Rock* (New York, Knopf, 1931), pp. 22-25.—"Auclair did a good trade in drugs and herbs. He had come over with Count de Frontenac as his apothecary and physician and had therefore been able to bring whatever he liked of his personal possessions.

Madame Auclair had brought her household goods, without which she could not imagine life at all, and the salon behind the shop was very much like their old salon in Paris. There was the same well-worn carpet made at Lyon, the walnut dining-table, the two large armchairs and high-backed sofa, upholstered in copper-red, cotton velvet. The same candelabra and china shepherd boy sat on the mantel, the same colored prints of pastoral scenes hung on the walls . . . As long as she lived she tried to make the new life as much as possible like the old.

After she began to feel sure she would never be well enough to return to France, her chief care was to train her little daughter so that she would be able to carry on this life after she was gone.

Madame Auclair never spoke of her approaching death, but would say something like this: "After a while when I am too ill to help you, you will perhaps find it fatiguing to do all these things alone, over and over. But in time you will come to love your duties as I do. You will see that your father's whole happiness depends on order and regularity, and you will come to feel a pride in it. Without order, our lives would be disgusting like those of the poor savages. At home in France we have learned to do all these things in the best way, and we are conscientious, and that is why we are called the most civilized people in Europe and other nations envy us.

Thus woman's presence alone guaranteed a certain perpetuity to French culture in the New World; and we may safely say that where family ties were absent the men could not, for any commensurable length of time, become attached to the soil of the new country. The woman as a pivot of family life made the continuance of the old home culture possible. When she was left behind in France, the males brought here became mostly *coureurs de bois*, intermarrying with the Indians, and becoming used gradually to Indian ways. Later arrivals from France, in which whole families were involved, brought with them a certain measure of stability, which in turn fostered colonization.

But it was not until Richelieu constituted himself Grand Master and Superintendent of Navigation and Commerce that a company was formed, in 1627, consisting of one hundred associates, and called the "Company of New France." Richelieu himself was the head; and the Maréchal Deffiat and other men of rank, besides many merchants and burghers of condition, were members. A perpetual monopoly of the fur-trade was granted them, with a monopoly of all other commerce within the limits of their government for fifteen years; but the cod and whale fisheries, however, were to remain open to all. The trade of the colony was declared free for the same period from all duties and imposts. Nobles, officers, ecclesiastics, and members of the company might engage in commercial pursuits without derogating from the privileges of their order. In evidence of his good-will the king, Louis XIII, gave the company two ships of war, each armed and well-equipped.

On its part the company was bound to convey to New France during the next year—1628—two or three hundred men of all trades and occupations; and before the year 1643 to increase the number to four thousand persons of both sexes; to lodge and support them for three years, and, at the expiration of that time, to give them cleared land for their maintenance. Every settler had

During the last winter of her illness she lay much of the time on her red sofa . . . and she could hear Cecile moving softly about in the kitchen . . . Then she would think fearfully of how much she was entrusting to that little shingled head; something so precious, so intangible; a feeling about life that had come down to her through so many centuries and that she had brought with her across the wastes of obliterating brutal ocean. The sense of 'our way'—that was what she longed to leave with her daughter. She wanted to believe that when she herself was lying in this rude Canadian earth life would go on almost unchanged in this room, with its dear (and to her, beautiful) objects; that the proprieties would be observed, all the little shades of feeling which make the common fine. The individuality, the character, of M. Auclair's house, though it appeared to be made up of wood and cloth and glass and a little silver, was really made of very fine moral qualities in two women—the mother's unswerving fidelity to certain traditions and the daughter's loyalty to her mother's wish."

to be loyally French and a staunch Catholic; and for every new settlement at least three ecclesiastics were to be provided. "Thus was New France forever to be free from the taint of heresy: against the foreigner and the Huguenot the door was to be closed and barred."[8] That this ecclesiastical influence was never wholly relinquished is well-known to almost everyone who has at some time or another visited French Canada and seen the results of Jesuitical tutelage among the *colons* and *habitants*. And later on it helped the old population to face the economically-disastrous vicissitudes of war with an almost phlegmatic stoicism when England's Wolfe stepped to a dearer-bought victory across the Plains of Abraham and the Lion superseded the Lily.

The period of British domination begins with the year 1760. After Wolfe's conquest many of the old *colons* left for France. We have now to account for the period from 1760 to 1860—particularly within the region under present discussion.

It is tenably certain, from the accounts given by descendants of the old settlers around Longue Pointe de Blanc Sablon,[9] that many of the established natives left as soon as the British became masters of the country. Brador, which had been a thriving seigneury, was almost depopulated. The same holds true generally of all adjoining territories. But after a short interval fisherfolk and *habitants* from other parts of the country began to filter in to the region. Between 1760 and 1860 occasional visits by schooners from the Channel Islands—especially Jersey—and from Newfoundland were responsible for the bulk of the fishing population around Brador, Longue Pointe, Blanc Sablon, Greenly Island, Isle-au-Bois, and Perroquet Island. A few traces of their later incursions among the folk of Blanc Sablon is to be found also in certain small heaps of rock scattered at intervals along the coast, which at one time, one learns, were used as memorials or sign posts of various parties who had passed that way. They seem to point partly to a Jersey provenience. "A glint of former life appears along the coast in lonely cairns called 'American Men,' erected on every peak. They are the relics of long ago when the coast was but a place for loot and pillage, and navigation was a matter of guesswork."[10]

Occasional graves of fishermen have been found also. The Jerseymen later intermarried with other folk from Gaspé and

[8] Parkman.
[9] To be referred to hereafter simply as Longue Pointe.
[10] Lacey Amy, "Labrador, Home of the Iceberg," *Travel* (May, 1916).

Montmagny (a county on the Gaspé peninsula, about thirty-six miles east of Quebec) who came here about seventy-five years ago. Another explanation of the great number of Jerseymen in these parts is that for one thing Jersey people acclimate themselves easily and readily to conditions such as are encountered along the North Shore in the vicinity of Blanc Sablon, and for another the main fishing industry around the "Banks" of Newfoundland was controlled, in Jersey and Guernsey, by the firm of Charles Robin Collas et Compagnie, who brought many of their own fishermen with them. The Letemplier group of Blanc Sablon owes a part of its origin to this provenience.

Time has effected but little change among them. "To-day, consequently, in the Lower St. Lawrence Valley is established a culture unique in its lack of progressiveness and picturesque in its proud adherence to the ancient customs of ancestral founders."[11]

About seventy-five years ago a company of *habitants* from St. François, St. Pierre, Berthier, St. Thomas, and Montmagny—all in the county of Montmagny—dissatisfied with their settlements near Quebec, and hearing of the plentiful fishing around the Strait of Belle Isle, came to Labrador to try their luck. At about the same time others called *Gascognes*, came from the northeastern part of the Gaspé coast. These two groups intermarried. Occasionally also women from Newfoundland, who then as now were transients and who first came into this territory by way of fishing schooners, were incorporated through marriage into the group. It may be well to note, however, that not a few of those from the eastern coast of Newfoundland claimed an ancestry originating in Devonshire, Somersetshire, and Cornwall, although the Channel Islands were involved also.

To cite one outstanding example of this group relationship, the father of Jean, Thomas, and Louis Letemplier came from the coast of the Gaspé peninsula; their mother came from Berthier, in Montmagny. The wife of Jean Letemplier is a Newfoundland Labrador woman, born at Carle's Cove. A similar condition obtains in the Lavallée sib, which intermarried with the Letempliers—although one occassionally finds an intruder from Newfoundland.[12]

[11]Roderick Peattie, "The Isolation of the Lower St. Lawrence Valley," *The Geographical Review*, Vol. V, No. 2 (February, 1918).

[12]See also chart on social organization, p. 64.



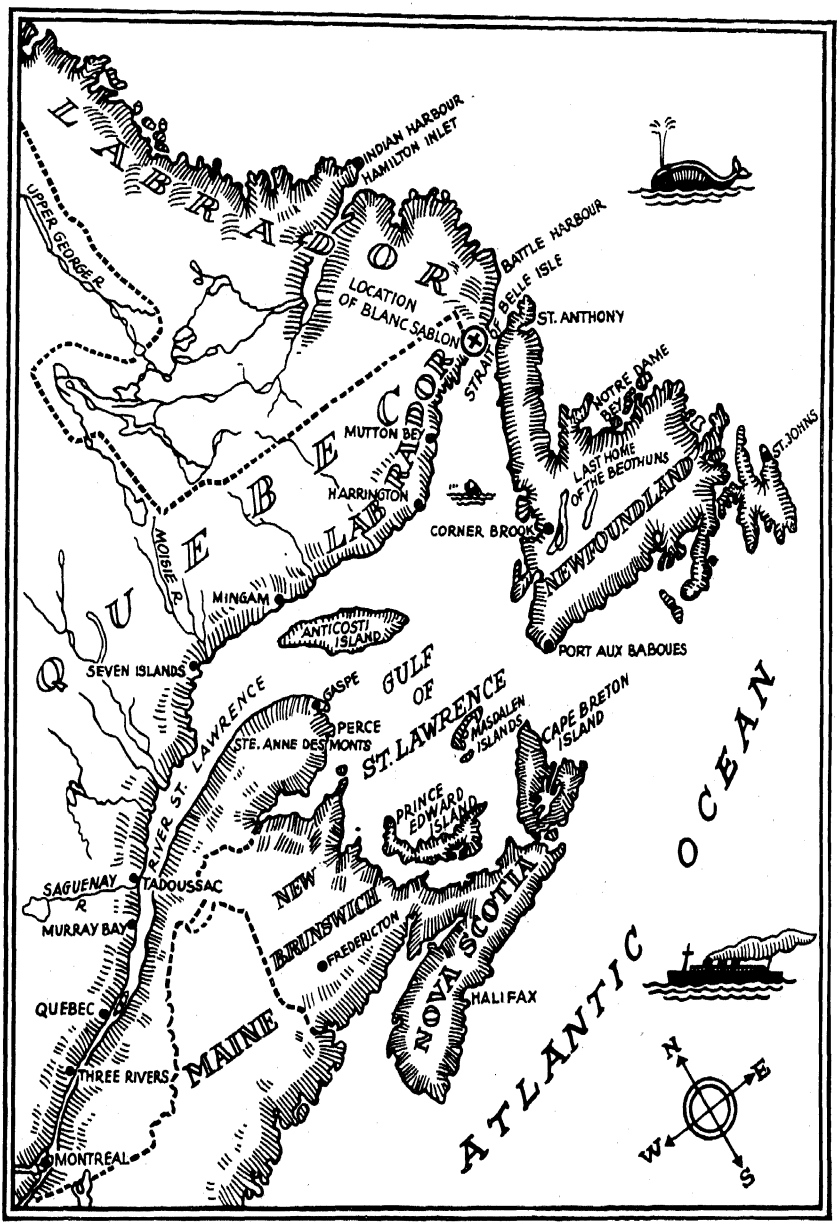
Photo by O. W. J.

A Labradorian Physical Type



Photo by O. W. J.

Eskimo-White Amalgamation



Courtesy Quebec govt.

A map of Labrador and its adjacent sections

CHAPTER II

Under the appellation *North Shore of the St. Lawrence River* one understands generally that vast stretch of land and shoreline extending from Tadoussac—approximately two hundred kilometers northeast of Quebec, and on the St. Lawrence river at the mouth of the Saguenay—to Blanc Sablon, a little cluster of fishermen's huts situated almost at the extreme limit of the continent. The distance over all is roughly twelve hundred and fifty kilometers, or about seven hundred and eighty miles. This may be divided into two parts—namely, the North Shore proper, which extends from Tadoussac to Natashquan, and the Labrador coast, which begins at Natashquan and ends at the southeastern tip of Newfoundland Labrador.

The North Shore may be divided also into three ecologic zones as follows: I. Tadoussac to Betsiamites; II. Betsiamites to Sept Iles; III. Sept Iles to Blanc Sablon and the limit of the Labrador coast. Zone III may be divided in its turn into two physiographic sub-zones, with the division occurring at Natashquan; for while the shoreline country between Sept Iles and Natashquan has a *soit-disant* larger vegetation consisting of occasional heath plants, stunted pines, and the like, the territory from Natashquan to Blanc Sablon is bleakly devoid of any leafy or woody growth other than undersized conifers which appear only in depressions and fresh-water accumulations.

In Zone I the dominant industry is agriculture, the products of which are grains, hay, various vegetables, and tobacco for home consumption. Lumbering and fishing are subordinate and secondary forms of exploitation. In Zone II lumbering—with subsequent pulp-production—greatly predominates over all other forms of exploitation. One may rightly call this central zone the industrial section of the North Shore. Within this zone is to be found also some agricultural activity; and a number of its population live by hunting and fishing, although these activities are only secondary

in importance. In truth, from Quebec to Pointe-des-Monts no village or hamlet is without the log-products industry. There are extensive lumber, pulp-wood, and pulp mills on the larger streams, and no settlement is too small to support some industry dependent upon the forest and the water power.

In Zone III we encounter only fishing and hunting, the former predominant in summer, the latter pursued during the long rigorous winter months. Farming in Zone III is well-nigh impossible, mainly due to short vernal seasons and mid-summer frosts. Two months of growing time—with a half dozen feet of snow just over the hill or in an adjacent hollow—is not enough to repay one with much more than a topic of conversation.

In our study of Blanc Sablon and its isolation we are to concern ourselves with the extreme eastern portion of this last-named zone.

The mainland mountains and hills consist of precambrian (Laurentian) granite. The soil consists of peat and muck, with occasional scanty accumulations of disintegrated rock material. Some rivers and smaller streams have, in places, built up deltas of sand, silt, and clay. Bogs have formed in depressions right up to the tops of mountains which reach altitudes between one hundred and eight hundred feet.

The climate of Blanc Sablon and the rest of Canadian Labrador is generally cold throughout the year. The mean temperature of summer months—that is, from July to September—is about fifty-five degrees Fahrenheit; that of winter—from October to the end of June—varies from zero to fifty-five degrees below zero and more. Several factors are answerable for this. Blanc Sablon, for one thing, occupies a subarctic position. Again, the icebergs in the open sea beyond Labrador and Newfoundland may be said to be partly contributive. But of greatest influence is the Labrador Current, a cold surface current which passes southward along the northeastern coast of North America. It flows down from among the islands of the Arctic Ocean, continues on past the coast of Labrador, and is split into two streams by the northeastern projection of Newfoundland. The lesser stream passes down through the Strait of Belle Isle into the Gulf of the St. Lawrence, skirts the island of Anticosti, emerging finally past Cape Breton Island to join the parent stream. The larger proportion of the current moves on past the "Banks" of Newfoundland, where it meets the warmer waters of the Gulf Stream coming up from the south, is deflected

in toward the coast, continues on, after being joined by the lesser stream, past Nova Scotia and the New England states as far as Cape Cod where it is finally dispersed.

Where the Labrador Current meets the Gulf Stream off the "Banks" of Newfoundland, a dense fog is produced. Sailors familiar with navigation conditions on the Atlantic have learned to expect heavy fogs as they pass near the coast of Newfoundland, one of the foggiest regions of the world. And these fogs, combined with the icebergs—which continue to drift down from the Arctic Ocean even throughout the summer months—in the Strait of Belle Isle and south of the St. Lawrence Gulf, tend to make navigation perenially uncertain and even dangerous. I have found the waters of the St. Lawrence and the Gulf too cold for bathing even during the latter part of July and the first half of August. All navigation from the outside world to Blanc Sablon closes about the end of October, and does not open until about the fifteenth of June.

The soil is uniformly acid. The flora consists chiefly of mosses and lichens (reindeer moss), with occasional heath plants such as stunted conifers and birches, alders, and willows, not attaining a much higher growth than from sixteen to eighteen inches, and frequently less; and grasses and sedges with which they are in symbiosis. The taller coniferous shrubs do not attain a higher growth than from five to six feet, and the majority of them fall considerably below these figures.

Taken in its entirety the general aspect of the country around Blanc Sablon as seen from afar is uniformly bleak and coldly uninviting. "Were it not for its life, there could be nothing more uninteresting than the coast of Labrador. A bare, harsh, rocky stretch, with, behind it, showing here and there a backbone of rugged mountain, is all that can be seen, except in the far north, where the cliffs are tremendous. Of trees there are none, for only the short, gnarled shrubs that blend with the rock can withstand the terrible winds of the winter season along the shore."[1] A closer scrutiny, however, reveals that several edible plants grow in these almost denuded hills. Most of them are of the berry species. The following gives both their local names and their botanical equivalents. Bake-Apple *(Rubus Chamaemorus)*, Plumboy *(Rubus Acaulis)*, Crowberry (Blackberry—*Empetrum Nigrum)*, Blueberry *(Vaccinium Uliginosum Pennsylvanicum)*, Strawberry *(Fragaria*

[1]Lacey Amy, "Labrador, Home of the Iceberg," *Travel* (May, 1916).

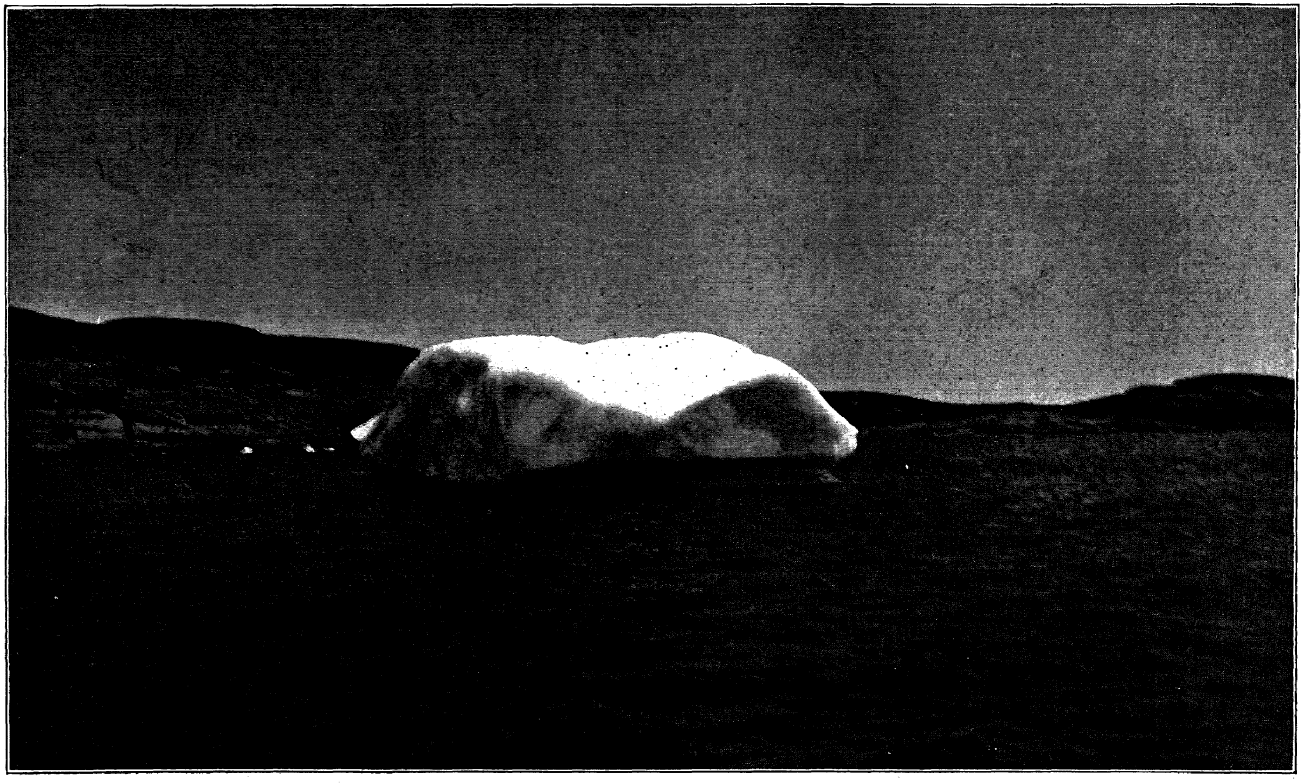


Photo by S. Forbash McGarry, Jr.

An Iceberg in Midsummer

Virginiana), and Cranberry (a genus of *Vaccinium)*. There are also three varieties of currants. The raspberry is found frequently, but in the less-exposed places—for example, around Brador Bay and Longue Pointe de Blanc Sablon. Although the gooseberry grows here also, it is not commonly utilized, since too much sugar is needed to make it edible and palatable.

Of the green-leaf vegetation the following complete the list of edible plants. Alexander *(Ligusticum Scotticum)*, in taste similar to our parsley, but in foliage resembling celery. Dockleaf *(Rumex Occidentalis)*. I do not know of any other utilizable greens. Dr. H. F. Lewis, of Ottawa, Canada, pointed out to me the fire-weed, or Willow-Herb *(Epilobium Augustifolium)*, but I do not believe that it is used very much. Highbush Cranberries *(Viburnum Pauciflorum)*—from which a jelly can be made—is not used much either.

Of the water-fowl common in this region should be mentioned some of the more prevalent species such as the puffin, gull, duck, jaeger, shearwater, and tern. The Migratory Birds Convention Act and Federal Regulations of Canada gives a formidable list of birds which may not be killed, captured, injured, molested, sold, or their nests or eggs injured, destroyed, or molested; and the penalty for the infraction of this act is that "Every person who violates any provision of this act or any regulation shall, for each offense, be liable upon summary conviction to a fine of not more than three hundred dollars and not less than ten dollars, or to imprisonment for a term not exceeding six months, or to both fine and imprisonment."[2] This is mentioned particularly because the inhabitants of Blanc Sablon and other North Shore and Labradorian villages, faced always by a great scarcity of fresh meat, have a very resentful attitude toward it and similar acts protecting migratory and other non-game birds, and regard the institution of bird sanctuaries as an unjust legislation.

The edible birds common around Blanc Sablon are as follows: Puffin *(Fratercula Arctica)*, Razorbilled Auk *(Alca Torda)*, Atlantic Murre *(Uria Aalge)*, Common Eider Duck *(Somateria Mollissima)*, Canada Goose *(Brante Canadensis)*, Black Duck *(Anasrubripes)*, Old Squaw *(Harelda)*, Red-Breasted Merganser *(Mergus Serrator)*, White-Winged Scoter *(Oidemia Deglandi)*, Surf Scoter *(Oidemia Perspicillata)*, Herring Gull, Great Black-Backed Gull—the last-

[2] *The Migratory Birds Convention Act and Federal Regulations for the Protection of Migratory Birds*, Ottawa, Sept, 1933, Section 12, Subsection 1.

named two are but rarely eaten by the folk—Greater Yellow-Legs, Curlew (not the Eskimo species), Dovekie *(Alli Alli)*—common particularly in winter, when it comes in flocks of thousands and is then eaten by the folk, Sea Pigeon (common both in winter and summer), Black Guillemot (common also, but non-migratory), and Snowy Owl (common in winter, when it is eaten by the folk). Other edible birds to be found around Blanc Sablon, but not so common, are the Green-Winged Teal *(Nettion Carolinensa)*, Pintail *(Dafila Ceuta)*, and American Goldeneye *(Clangula Americana)*.[3]

It might be well to introduce at this juncture a list of the furbearing animals hunted or trapped in Labrador, since their flesh, too, is not infrequently used for food. There are the marten, mink, otter, musquash (or muskrat), lynx (or mountain-cat), fox, and beaver (which may be trapped by the Indians only). The mink and the fox are trapped for their fur alone—but even fox is eaten when no other fresh meat is obtainable.[4]

The North Shore as a whole may be divided into two districts, in each of which hunting and trapping are relatively lucrative pursuits. The first district is from Betsiamites to Pointe-aux-Esquimaux (Havre St. Pierre); the second is from Pointe-aux-Esquimaux to Blanc Sablon. It is the second district in which we are interested.

The following chart averages the annual yield of furs—a rough estimate only.[5]

Kind of Fur	No. of Pelts
Fox (of which 20% are Silver Fox)	5,000
Mink	2,000
Muskrat	20,000
Ermine (or Weasel)	2,000
Beaver	2,000
Lynx	2,000
Otter	1,000
Marten	2,000
Bear (Cinnamon and Brown Bear)	200
Moose and Caribou in smaller numbers	
Total Number of Pelts	36,200

The plant and bird ecology of Blanc Sablon have been purposely presented before a description in full of the main aspect of

[3]Through the courtesy of Professsor R. A. Johnson, of the New York State Teacher's College, at Oneonta, New York, who conducted an ornithologic study in Labrador during my stay there. O. W. J.

[4]This list was given me by Mr. Hayward Haynes, of the Hudson's Bay Company Post at St. Augustin.

[5]As reported by M. Edgar Rochette, *Notes sur la Côte Nord du Bas Saint-Laurent et le Labrador Canadien* (Quebec, 1926), p. 84.

livelihood of the folk, whose diet is almost exclusively fish. In this people dietary deficiencies often result in avitaminoses of various natures and severity.

The main food article all along Zone III is fish. Of this cod and capelin are the more important; for although salmon, trout, and lobster may be taken also into consideration, they appear but rarely on the diet list. "It is obvious that the fundamental necessity for man's existence is a sufficient quantity of some kind of edible organic substance... The almost universal tendency among the several groups of mankind is to specialize in some one kind of food which thereby becomes the staple, or main support, to be supplemented by secondary foods when opportunity permits."[6]

Fishing is furthermore a source—virtually the only source—of revenue for the entire North Shore, but particularly for Zone III—that is, from Sept Iles to the eastern limit of the continent. One may estimate the annual catch of cod for Zone III to be in the neighborhood of one hundred thousand quintals.[7] Of salmon the annual catch averages about six hundred thousand pounds. Thus it will be seen that the life-maintenance of the habitant folk of both Zone II and Zone III is truly and overwhelmingly fishing and hunting, inasmuch as in neither Zone II nor Zone III is there any cultivation of plants—that is, agriculture—or any breeding of stock.

The following census[8] lists the settlements of the North Shore, from Tadoussac to Blanc Sablon, with their approximate distances from Quebec and from one another, the population of each, and the central activity pattern of each:

ECOLOGIC ZONE I

(Agricultural Communities—Lumbering and Fishing Secondary Occupations)

Settlement	Distance in Miles from Quebec	Population	Remarks
Tadoussac	110	700	Village government and parish organization; school; home for boys and girls
Sacré-Cœur (Dolbeau)	122	1000	As at Tadoussac

[6] Clark Wissler, *The American Indian* (Oxford University Press, 1922), p. 1.

[7] That is, undried or "green"; one "green" quintal weighs 224 pounds; one "dry" quintal weighs 112 pounds.

[8] Taken by O. W. Junek in 1934 with the help of M. Arthur Bergeron and M. Louis T. Blais.

Settlement	Distance in Miles from Quebec	Population	Remarks
Bergeronnes	125	950	Village and parish governments; five schools; lumber factory
Escoumins	133	1200 (including approximately 15 Montagnais Indians)	Village and parish government; three schools; Laurentide Pulp Paper Co., Ltd.
Mille-Vaches	151	1300	Civil and parochial governments; six schools; Donnacona Paper Co.
Portneuf	160	600 (500 more during winter)	Civil and parochial governments; two schools; Wyagamack Pulp Paper Co.; Hamilton Cove Pulpwood and Paper Co.
Saut-au-Cochon	169	2 families	Agriculture, hunting, and fishing
Baie Laval	173	3 families	Agriculture, hunting, and fishing
Rivière Blanche	177	3 families, no telegraphic communication	Agriculture, hunting, and fishing
Ilets Jeremie	186	4 families, no communication	Agriculture, hunting, and fishing

ECOLOGIC ZONE II

(Lumbering Chief Activity—Fishing and Agriculture Secondary Occupations)

Settlement	Distance in Miles from Quebec	Population	Remarks
Betsiamites	190	164 families—approximately 820 people, 500 of which are Montagnais Indians	Fishing and hunting
Papinachois	194	20 families	Considerable lumbering by the Brown Corp.
Manicouagan	215		Lumbering
Franquelin	230	200	Some fishing and hunting; lumbering by the Franklin Lumber Co. Ltd.
St. Nicholas	237	3 families	As at Franquelin; lumbering by the Franklin Lumber Co.

Settlement	Distance in Miles from Quebec	Population	Remarks
Godbout	245	300 (about 600 more in winter)	St. Regis Paper Co.
Pointe-des-Monts	254	3 families	Salmon fishing
Baie Trinité	260	6 families	Salmon fishing
Petit-Mai	262	4 families	Salmon fishing and hunting
Ilets Caribou	266	22 families	Cod fishing and hunting
Pointe-aux-Anglais	281	25 families	Agriculture, fishing, and hunting
Rivière-Pentecôte	289	450 (400 more in winter)	Lumbering
Ilets-de-Mai	309	2 families	Lumbering, fishing, and hunting
Shelter Bay	339	800	Hospital and doctor, Ontario Paper Co.
Clarke City	361 (9 miles inland)	500 (600 more in winter)	Lumbering; also a hotel
Ste. Marguerite	365	12 families	Fishing and hunting mainly; a little farming
Sept-Iles	389	120 white families, 60 Indian families	Salmon and cod fishing; Indian reservation

ECOLOGIC ZONE III
(Fishing and Hunting Main Activities)

Settlement	Distance in Miles from Quebec	Population	Remarks
Moisie	405	200 white families, 45 Indian families	Fishing and hunting
Pigou	425	2 families	Fishing and hunting
Rivière Manitou	442	3 families	Fishing and hunting
Rivière-aux-Graines	444	6 families	Fishing and hunting
La Chaloupe	448	4 families	Fishing and hunting
La Baleine	458	2 families	Fishing and hunting
Sheldrake	461	10 families	Fishing and hunting
Rivière-au-Tonnerre	466	450	Fishing, hunting, and some lumbering in the winter
Docket Jupitagon	470	10 families	Fishing and hunting
Magpie	473	200	Fishing and hunting
Rivière St. Jean	482	275	Fishing and hunting
Longue Pointe de Mingan	491	300	Fishing and hunting

Settlement	Distance in Miles from Quebec	Population	Remarks
Mingan[9]	497	40 families of Montagnais Indians	Hunting and fishing
Pointe-aux-Esquimaux (Havre Saint Pierre)	513	1300	Fishing and hunting. The most important community on the North Shore. Several schools, also a church; Post Office, Telegraph office, stores, fisheries, and site of a Hudson's Bay Company post
Piashtibaie	548	125	Fishing and hunting
Village d'Agwanus	578	225	Fishing and hunting
Natashquan	590	350 (some Montagnais Indians)	Fishing and hunting
Kegashka	612	6 families	Fishing and hunting
Musquarro	624	3 families	Fishing and hunting
La Romaine	642	2 families	Fishing and hunting
Wolf Bay	662	4 families	Fishing and hunting
Etamamiou	677	3 families	Fishing and hunting
Harrington	705	160	Fishing and hunting, School; church (of England); site of Grenfel Hospital, with all modern medical and surgical conveniences
Tête-à-la-Baleine	725	15 families	Fishing and hunting
Baie des Moutons	739	35 families	Fishing and hunting
Gros Mecatina	741	2 families	Fishing and hunting
Baie Rouge	747	6 families	Fishing and hunting
La Tabatière	749	8 families	Fishing and hunting
Kekarpoai[10]	766	1 family	Fishing and hunting
St. Augustin	786	25 families of whites, 40 of Montagnais Indians	Fishing—salmon and sea trout
Vieux Fort	826	9 families	Fishing—cod
Bonne Espérance	831	2 families	Fishing—cod
Baie de Brador	852	7 families	Fishing—cod
Longue Pointe	856	23 families	Fishing—cod
Blanc Sablon	860	13 families	Fishing—cod

[9]Here, as at several other points, still exists a modified feudalism, a survival of the seignorial system, with the land held by a *seigneur* who may extract a fee from the *rentier*.
[10]Settled originally by the Bretons.

CHAPTER III

In the Lower St. Lawrence region innumerable fishing villages have developed fringing upon the Gulf or the countless bays or inlets or river estuaries which empty into the St. Lawrence. It is almost needless to say that such natural geographic factors as these have determined largely the distribution of the population, and have imposed at the same time a considerable restraint upon contact with the outside world. Clustered in rocky convolutions of the earth these little settlements present an aspect forbidding to an extreme—especially to eyes more accustomed to the seemingly-sculptored configurations of certain sections of the continent south and east. On one side toss the cold, foam-flecked swells of the Gulf, or of the Atlantic ocean; on the other, swamps and bogs, terminating at the foot of hills or ridges of rock which rise to heights of about eight hundred feet, form what might aptly be called a backyard. There are relatively few settlements on the upland. Quite frequently promontories separate one village from its neighbor. Communication from one village to another is effected in summer and late spring by means of small water-craft; in winter, late fall, and early spring the *cométique* drawn by dogs is used The paths leading over the mounfains are used but infrequently, and then only in early fall and in winter, when the men foray north or northwest in search of firewood, or go hunting and trapping.

Four classes have been distinguished in Labrador—namely, the French settlers, the fisherman from Newfoundland, the *Liveyere*, and the native, or Eskimo. The French settlers and their settlements along the north shore have been mentioned in previous chapter. The Newfoundlanders come in boats of all sizes and devious conditions, and, living under any makeshift structure return finally to Newfoundland with their catch at the termination of the fishing season. The *Liveyere* is the resident fisherman. He is a Newfoundlander by birth, and a Labradorian by adoption. He



Photo by Wm. L. Holdefer

The Bay of Blanc Sablon

possesses the comparatively desirable trait of being willing to hustle for himself at most times; the exigencies of local conditions do not wait for governments. He works harder and makes less, for he never reaches a market. He is, furthermore, ingenuous and honest. The third class is native... The Eskimo seldom comes south of Hopedale... But the crossing of breeds in Labrador is beyond investigation, and the part-breed Eskimo is everywhere.[1]

The foregoing, however, was paraphrased from an article written in 1918. Yet, if the data may be accepted literally, relatively few changes have taken place in Labrador since then. The fisherman out of Newfoundland is still a persistent and annual visitor, and virtually unchanged, except that he has admitted, to a certain extent, a few mutations in his cultural pattern, in which, for his own good, somewhat of sanitation and hygiene now plays a part. He seeks medical advice and assistance under his own initiative, for example, whenever he is in the proximity of medical missions. The habitant and the *Liveyere* has become Labradorian by birth—and works as hard and as unremuneratively (from a monetary standpoint) es ever. The Eskimo has changed but little.

The size of the Labradorian community depends almost wholly upon its strategic position as a fishing-centre, and the relative calmness of its naturally-formed harbor, within which water-craft may be safely anchored, and to which even schooners out of Newfoundland flee when easterly or southwesterly gales sweep the open sea.

The natural limits of the Blanc Sablon community are two short promontories jutting out obliquely on the west toward Longue Pointe, and on the east toward Lance-au-Claire and the northeast portion of Labrador. These promontories obtrude into the sea, and, acting as arms, form in this instance the natural harbor. The Laurentian chain acts as a protecting backwall for the village, which is situated approximately half a mile south of it, and facing the sea. The accompanying chart (p. 64) shows the organization pattern of Blanc Sablon, along with the complex interrelationships of the sib.

Another community organized similarly within the framework of the foregoing physical factors is Brador (*Bras d'or*), situated about nine miles west of Blanc Sablon. Brador was a seigneury

[1]Lacey Amy, "Labrador, Home of the Iceberg," *Travel* (May, 1916). (See illustration on p. 8)

settled some three hundred years or more ago. Then, as now, fishing and seal hunting in the immediate waters were such lucrative pursuits that sailors out of Normandy and Brittany were able ultimately to return to their native shores with great wealth in catch, which they converted subsequently into gold. Hence the name *Bras d'Or*, or Golden Arm. When wars with England became common, the community was deserted finally by the old sailors, who returned to France after burying their treasures and gold coin for which they hoped to return some day, though they never did. To-day, Brador consists of only seven families. In the meantime (that is, about seventy-five years ago) the people of the county of Montmagny (Berthier, St. François, etc.) and of Gaspé formed minor settlements around Brador both eastwardly and westwardly. Of these both Blanc Sablon and Longue Pointe are the later in point of time. Longue Pointe is the larger community of the two, and consists of twenty-three families. But Blanc Sablon, although made up of only thirteen families, seems to be the more important, and has many advantages over its more populous neighbor. Here is located a branch of the Hudson's Bay Company, and a small post office; and here the Clarke Steamship Company's "Sable I" casts anchor every fourteen days during summer, discharging and picking up mail and occasional passengers—and thereby making Longue Pointe quite dependent upon Blanc Sablon for communication with or by steamboat, or for such urban influences as Hudson's Bay Company trading.

Here, again, in summer during the height of the fishing season, and following three days after the departure of the "Sable I," also appears the Newfoundland steamer "Sagona." Occasional sails likewise serve these far-flung communities. On the whole, however, Blanc Sablon, Longue Pointe, and several other small hamlets west of Blanc Sablon depend almost entirely upon the "Sable I" for their contacts with Quebec and the civilized world. There is, of course, considerable communication going on constantly among Longue Pointe, Blanc Sablon, and Brador, and most of it is by water. Rarely is there any travelling on foot. There are exceptions, however, in summer, or when the northeasterly or southwesterly winds blow; in which event, or in event of emergency, neighboring communities may be reached by following the dog-team trails which cross the mountainous promontories between communities. During a bad three-day storm I started out on the circuitous trail

between Blanc Sablon and Longue Pointe. It took me almost three hours to climb and descend. In winter fast dog-team travel covers this seven-mile stretch in less than half that time.

The more developed communities to-day, then, are these two—Blanc Sablon and Longue Pointe, Blanc Sablon being the easternmost, in fact, the last of the North Shore settlements, and situated about four miles southwest of Newfoundland-Labrador boundary. The population of Blanc Sablon,—from the first census taken by myself on July 15, 1934,—is actually seventy-eight people; and that of Longue Pointe at least twice as many.[2]

But although Blanc Sablon has a more direct contact with the city system than either Longue Pointe or Brador, Longue Pointe must be considered as the focal point for religious life of all three communities for situated here is the Lourdes de Blanc Sablon, here lives the parish *curé*, Père Gagné, and to here each Sunday come worshippers from Blanc Sablon, Greenly Island, and Brador. Longue Pointe and Blanc Sablon—and it is these two communities, particularly the latter, in which we are interested—share therefore a mutual dependency; for while the former is the centre of religious life, the latter is a centre in itself of contact with the city system. Blanc Sablon, though separated from Longue Pointe only four miles by water, belongs to the Newfoundland-Labrador diocese; whereas Longue Pointe, with its church and priest's house, is included in the Quebec diocese.

Each community is made up generally of *habitants*, whose ancestors were born in it; these people are, therefore, inured to the soil upon which they have grown up and would never consider moving away to some other community. There are exceptions, however, in those women who go into or are assimilated by the groups of the men they marry. But even patrilocalism tends to be of the same community—that is, it is seldom that the women marry outside of their own locale.

Again, each community, though strongly integrated through residence and intermarriage, and possessing within its own confines a smoothly-functioning local economic system, is also bound up directly with North Shore marketing and trading, which, in turn, are controlled by certain companies having their headquarters farther west.[3]

[2] See chart on social organization, p. 64.
[3] See chapter on Technology, p. 99.

The sea is really communal. Cod-fishing is carried on independently by each family unit; but each family's success in fishing depends to a considerable extent upon the indirect cooperation it receives from other similarly integrated units. For example, one man may point out to his neighbors the better fishing locations; he may protect fishing gear other than his own, or refrain from disturbing the cod or salmon traps of others. All work harmoniously together in not permitting Newfoundland fishing schooners—the crews of which are considered foreigners or outsiders to enter their fishing domain, except when the winds are unfriendly and the trespassers cannot with safety stay outside of the harbor. Even then the schooner is only permitted to cast anchor; all rival fishing must itself be done away from the immediate territory in spite of dirty weather.[4]

[4]See chapter on Social Organization, p. 59.

CHAPTER IV

Around Blanc Sablon within Zone III all socio-economic activities are bound up with both the seasonal and the climatic changes or variations. Generally speaking, the winters are long and bitterly cold, and the summers short and somewhat mild—although the temperature rarely rises above fifty-five degrees Fahrenheit. Fishing for cod is, of course, the central or primary activity of the people living in this zone; but hunting and trapping and the gathering of pineroots for fuel form likewise important activities when the fishing season has been brought to an end by the abrupt appearance of winter, which sets in about the end of October, and continues without respite almost up to the end of May.

The fishing season begins late in June. About this time capelin and cod begin to make an appearance in ever-increasing shoals.[1] As the summer progresses, the capelin turn shoreward to "breach," becoming the prey not only of the fishermen—who utilize this fish for food—but also of the cod. The cod, while greedy feeders, are particular about bait. Capelin—a small fish resembling somewhat the sardine—smaller mackerel, clams, and squid—a species of cephalopod—are eaten by the cod.

Cod fishing, interspersed by occasional salmon fishing, goes steadily on until around the end of July. By then *at least* two hundred quintals of fish per family must be caught, salted, and dried, or economic disaster occurs. It is about this time that the dogfish—a small variety of shark—comes into the neighboring waters, ending cod fishing. These fish not only drive the cod away but tear the meshes of the cod-traps with their sharp dorsal fins. The dogfish furthermore attack almost everything within sight, and the natives consequently stand in fear and hatred of it. As one informant has expressed this attitude, "*Si vous tombez dans l'eau, vous êtes perdu!*" No doubt these fish really have the voracious

[1]About the time of my arrival in Blanc Sablon, during the week of June 17, 1934, the capelin were plentiful, and had already started to come in shoreward, followed by vast shoals of cod.

THE NORTH SHORE OF THE LOWER ST. LAWRENCE RIVER

AND THE CANADIAN AND NEW-FOUNDLAND LABRADOR.
CHART ACCOMPANYING THE STUDY OF ISOLATED LABRADOR COMMUNITIES.

OSCAR WALDEMAR JUNEK
DEPARTMENT OF ANTHROPOLOGY
THE UNIVERSITY OF CHICAGO

SCALE OF MILES
20 10 0 20 40 60

70 69 68 67 66 65 64 63 62 61 60 59 58 57 56

53 52 51 50 49 48

Rivière Moisie
Rivière Romaine
R. Aguanish
Rivière Natashquan
R. Gilbert
R. Alexis
R. St. Louis
R. St. Charles
R. Pluvier
R. St. Paul
R. St. Augustin
Bonne Esperance
Blanc Sablon
B. Rouge
DETROIT DE BELLE ISLE
B. Brador
Vieux Fort
Tete à la Baleine de l'Est
St Augustin
Kekarpouc
La Tabatiere
Baie Rouge
Gros Mecatina
R. Petit Mecatina
Baie des Moutons
Tete à la Baleine
Harrington
Romaine
Tarmanidou
Kegashka
Aguanish
Natashquan
Rivière aux Outardes
R. Manicouagan
Ste Marguerite
Rivière Pentecôte
Clarke City
Sept Iles
Moisie
C. Cormoran
Pigou
Riv aux Graines
Sheldrake
Riv au Tonnere
Magpie
R. Magpie
R. St. Jean
Riv Mingan
Longue Pte Mingan
Harre St Pierre
Pte Noire
Pte. Ouest
ILE ANTICOSTI
Rivière Betsiamites
Betsiamites
Manicouagan
Papinachois
Rivière Portneuf
Portneuf
Mille Vaches
R. Mille Vaches
Rivière Escoumains
Escoumains
Bergeronnes
Sacré-Coeur
Tadoussac
Godbout
Pte des Monts
St. Nicolas
Franquelin
B. de la Trinité
Pointe aux Anglais
R. Godbout
R. Trinité
Shelter Bay
Rivière Laval
Rivière Blanche
Riv. Jean Jamie
R. Portneur
R. Laval
R. Escoumains
R. Sault-au-Cochon
Rivière Sault-au-Cochon
Rivière Betsiamites
R. Manicouagan
R. Moisie
R. Sheldrake
R. Magpie
R. Natashquan
R. Romaine
R. Petit Mecatina
R. Aguanish
R. Trinité
R. Godbout
R. Portneur
R. Mille Vaches
R. Escoumains
R. Laval
Rivière Laval
Rivière Portneur
Rivière Escoumains
Rivière Sault-au-Cochon
Rivière Betsiamites
Rivière Manicouagan
Rivière Moisie
Rivière Romaine
Rivière Natashquan
Rivière Pentecôte
Rivière aux Outardes
Rivière Portneur
Rivière Escoumains
Rivière Sault-au-Cochon
Rivière Betsiamites
Rivière Manicouagan
Rivière Moisie
Rivière Romaine
Rivière Natashquan
Rivière Pentecôte
Rivière aux Outardes

I
II
III

LABRADOR
TERRE-NEUVE
GOLFE ST-LAURENT
GASPE
MATANE
FLEUVE ST-LAURENT

habits of the shark, judging from their anatomical structure. With the appearance of the dogfish the folk turn perforce from cod-fishing, and begin to wash their season's catch and prepare it for drying on "flakes." Herring-fishing and the salting of cod occupies the community until October, when herring-fishing ends.

All throughout the month of October the men make repeated trips into the mountains with dog-teams to gather roots for fuel. The kindling must be in by the end of the month, for snow, beginning to fall about then, makes root-gathering virtually impossible. To the average male of Blanc Sablon this phasis of the annual socio-economic cycle is the least prepossessing, and it becomes even more of a drudgery as year succeeds year. The following statement from the lips of a Blanc Sablonite fairly condenses the attitude of the folk toward it. "It's getting the wood that is the hardest job; getting fish is play; and seal-fishing is real fun."

The months of November, December, January, February, March, and a part of April are devoted almost exclusively to hunting and trapping many miles north of the village of Blanc Sablon. Those animals caught are the fox, mink, muskrat, and an occasional mountain-cat—a variety of lynx.

Hunting ends sometime around the end of March or the first of April. During the second half of March seal are hunted openly on the ice floes. Throughout the latter part of April, and almost all of May, sealing is carried on by means of seal-traps which are placed under the ice.

COD-FISHING

Cod-fishing has already been mentioned as the outstanding or primary activity of the Blanc Sablonites. The fish are caught in trap-nets. A trap-net is a ponderous fabrication, the meshes of which are two inches square and made of twine one-sixteenth inch in thickness. It is about three hundred and twenty-four feet long, fifty feet wide, and forty-five feet deep, and is set into the sea like a huge box. The edges—or head—are kept afloat by pairs of cork disks three and three-quarter inches in diameter, and one and one-quarter inches thick, strung on one and one-half inch rope at fifteen inch intervals. The bottom edges are weighted down by buttons of lead one and one-quarter inches thick and three and one-eight inches in circumference, set at about fourteen inches

from each other. A "leader"—or opening through one end into the trap—is another net two hundred and forty feet long, and of the same depth as the trap itself. At its inside end, however, the "leader" is only twenty-four feet wide, and is sewed into the trap. Once the fish swim inside this construction it is difficult for them to escape.

The trap-net is generally referred to as "gear," and is quite expensive. The Hudson's Bay Company post charges between three and four hundred dollars for it—or its equivalent in cod-fish. Net repairs are very frequent, since, if the entire net is not thoroughly dried after the termination of the fishing season, the twine rots. For this reason, the folk dip their "gear" in tanning-bark solutions, which give the twine a greater chemical resistance. But in spite of tanning—or "barking"—the nets still get damaged and torn by salmon and dogfish and the fisherman's homemade wooden needle is kept busy long after the nets have been set out to dry. During the winter the traps are kept in the "stages."

Several of the fisher-folk, who are unable to procure the regular fishing-gear, earn their livelihood by "jigging." A "jigger" is a leaden, troll-like decoy cut in the form of a capelin, and having two sharp hooks.[2] A line is attached to it, and it is thrown overboard. Cod and other fish are caught by jerking the "jigger" suddenly up over the broadside of the boat. But this is a slow and laborious process at best, and not many fish may be caught in this manner. Those families who are forced to this extreme consequently look toward the day when they, too, will be able to afford trap-nets.

At sunrise, the weather permitting, the men and older boys of Blanc Sablon go out to the cod-traps, which are situated near the vicinity of Isle au Bois. Usually one motor-driven fishing-smack for each group sets out. Such vessels accomodate half a dozen people or more, and are, therefore, sufficiently large. Often, however, especially when a good catch is anticipated, another motorless boat is attached by rope to the first, and into both boats the cod are flung, being taken out of the trap-nets by hand. A good morning's catch constitutes from twenty to thirty quintals. This is the first operation—or division of the day's labor, and it lasts generally from two to two-and-a-half hours. The parties return

[2]Obtained likewise from the Hudson's Bay Company.

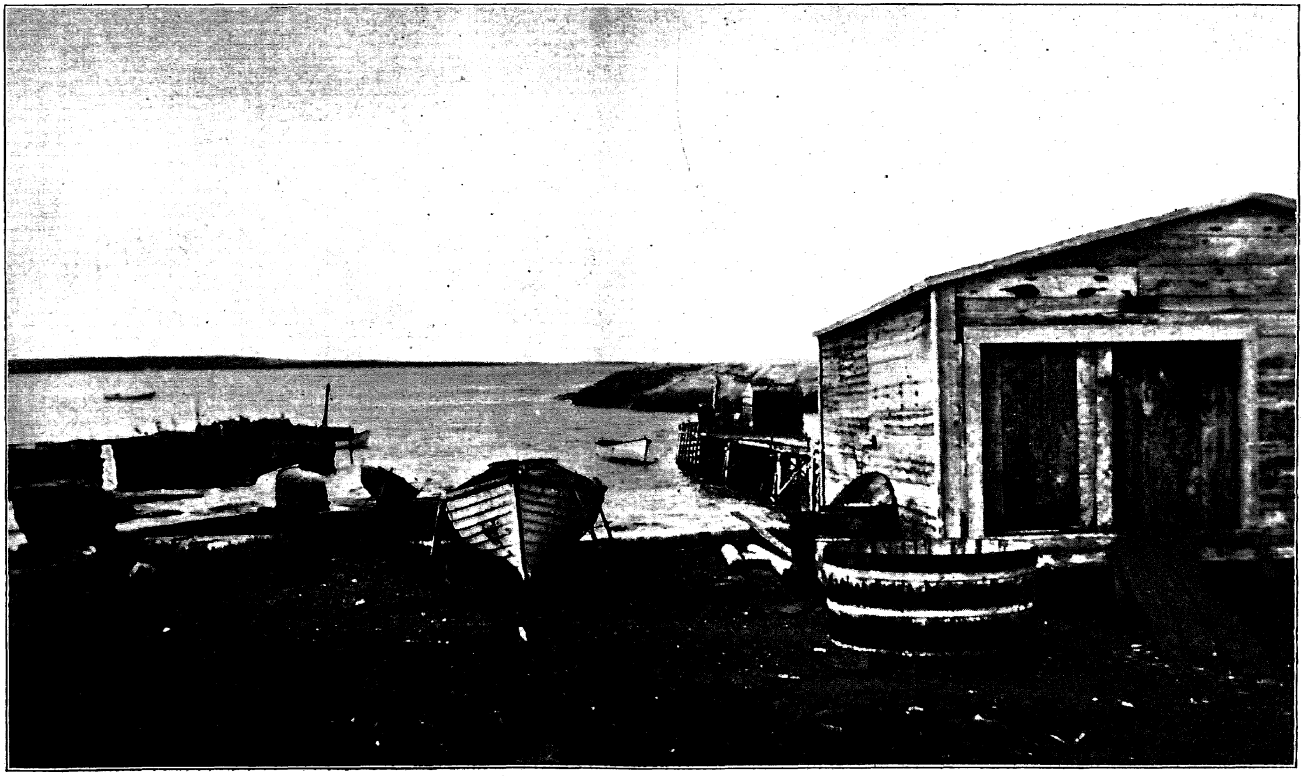


Photo by Wm. L. Holdefer

A "Stage"

before breakfast. The boatloads of fish are anchored temporarily at the wharves and the fish are covered with sailcloth.

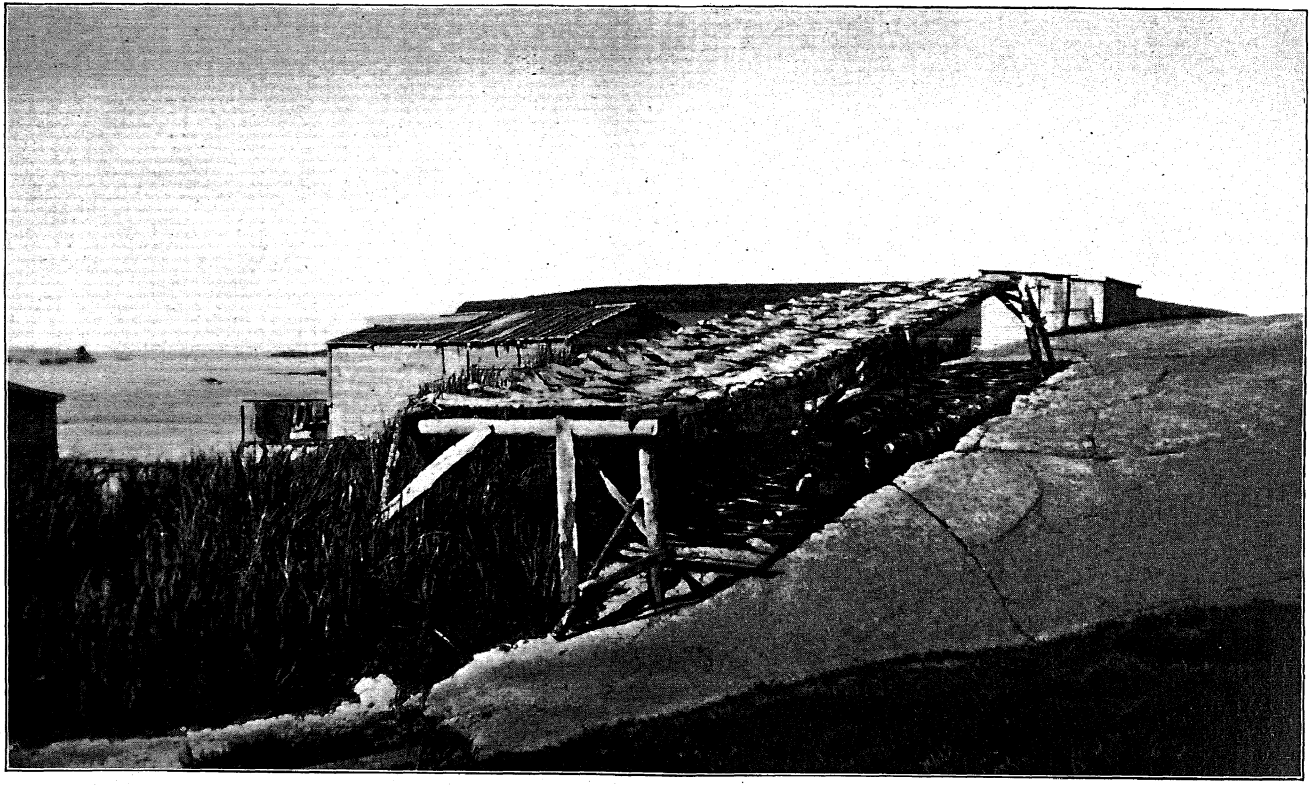
During this season, which involves the primary activity, the first meal of the day presents a picture of but little variation as the season itself advances. Brought into being with the departure of the boats for the fishing-grounds, the direct economic participation among the members of each group continues on without respite. Although the following concerns itself only with one branch of the Lavallée sib, it may be considered as an apt example of this system. In this instance Pierre (Old Peter) Lavallée, his unmarried sons, Donald and Manuel, and his married son, Young Peter, go out in their boat to the cod-traps. Old Peter's brother, Ernest,—who always becomes seasick in a boat,—remains at home, taking care of the "stage," the wharf, and various minor but daily chores around the house. Breakfast is prepared in the meantime, consisting mainly of boiled fish (capelin, scooped by a dipnet from the seashore, which is literally black with fish at this time of year), potatoes, and bread.

In a few hours the men return from the traps, tie up their boats at the wharf, and go to their respective cottages for breakfast. In this particular group two cottages are concerned, since Young Peter lives separately with his wife and familiy.

Breakfast is soon over. Back go the men to the wharf and boats. The fish are uncovered and tossed, still alive, by Donald from the boats to the wharf by means of a two-pronged pitchfork, to be later conveyed to a large box attached to one side of a large table some twelve feet away.

The group arranges itself around the table in the following manner. Ernest, the "cut-throat," reaches into the box, grasps a fish by its eyes, and makes a lunar incision on its ventral side across the throat from gill to gill. He also makes a longitudinal incision through the belly of the fish, thus allowing the entrails to fall out. In this condition the fish is pushed to Ernest's neighbor and working-partner, Manuel, the "header."

Manuel rips out the liver of the cod, dropping it into a special barrel under the table, tears off the head and tosses it, together with the entrails, over the side of the wharf into the shallows below, where the huskies are waiting to gorge themselves. He then pushes the headless and eviscerated fish across the table to his married brother, Young Peter, the "splitter," who runs a square



"Flakes"

Photo by Wm. L. Holdefer

knife under the vertebral column of the fish lengthwise, cutting out the column on a return motion, and dropping the now shapeless mass into another barrel filled with sea water. This process is repeated over and over, until finally the entire morning's catch has been cleaned.

Very often quantities of salmon get caught in the trap-nets together with the cod. Whenever this occurs, the salmon are split over the dorsum, the head and the entrails are removed and the vertebral column cut out, almost the same as in the treatment of the cod. The pink salmon only, however, is reserved for human consumption; the white salmon, which are called "slinks," are either thrown back into the sea or kept as winter food for the dogs.

While the preceding operations have been going on, and without interruption, Donald makes repeated trips to the "stage"—a small shack where the fish are salted and stored—transporting the cleaned fish thither by wheelbarrow. He is met by "Old Peter," who remains constantly at the "stage." Donald arranges the fish in rows belly-up on the floor, which has been previously scrubbed; and "Old Peter" sprinkles the exposed fish with crude salt lengthwise through the centre. Layer after layer follows, and in this state the fish are left until they are ready to be dried upon the "flakes" —the last, and somewhat precarious, step of the cod-fishing industry.

Very little motion is wasted in these processes, none of which may be interrupted in its proper sequence until all of the catch has been disposed of—labor involving the handling of from twenty to twenty-five quintals of fish. The blood and debris are then washed from the table and wharf, the implements are cleaned, and the men turn finally to various chores around the house.

COD-LIVER-OIL

In so far as the folk of Blank Sablon are concerned, the one and only important by-product of the cod catch is cod-liver oil. This oil, as it is produced in its crude primary state, is unfit for human consumption; and to be made so must first be refined by subsequent processes not engaged in by the Blanc Sablon people. As we have already observed, the liver is ripped out of the cod by the person who does the "heading" and dropped into a special barrel at one side of the table upon which the fish are cleaned. When this

barrel is full of livers, its contents are dumped into a larger barrel. Left exposed to the sun and air the liver eventually decomposes; the stroma sinks to the bottom; and the oil rises to the surface. This is essentially what we know as cod-liver oil, though in an unrefined state; the folk, however, refer to it simply as cod oil. At the end of the fishing season—about the fifteenth of August—the oil is drawn off, poured into regular oil barrels, and sold. One barrel contains about fifty gallons of oil; and a family engaged in cod-fishing averages about two barrels a season. In 1933 the price fixed for one gallon of cod oil was ten cents in 1934 the price obtained (in trade) ranged from thirty to thirty-five cents a gallon.

WASHING OF COD

During the month of August three activities usurp the time and attention of the folk: the washing and drying of cod; berry picking; and herring-net repairing. The most important of these occupations is naturally the washing of the salted cod, which has afterwards to be dried on the "flakes." This activity is begun sometime around the middle of August, and continues on more or less regularly until the first of September.

Bad weather in August always threatens the community with economic disaster, for lightly-salted cod, if not washed and dried, soon becomes invaded by maggots, and the work of a whole summer in consequence goes to waste. For several years back the weather after August 15 was so immoderately rainy and foggy that the salted fish could not be placed out on the "flakes." Last year (1933) in order to prevent a recurrence of this several fishermen washed their entire summer's catch in heavily-salted water—or "pickle;" but even this precaution did not help very much, and the cod became slimy and unfit for marketing. The folk must be perpetually alert to spread their fish upon the "flakes" as soon as the sun begins to shine, gathering and piling them into heaps, and covering them with heavy sailcloth at the slightest indication of rain or fog. This activity may be compared with some of the difficulties encountered by the American farmer during the hay harvest; yet the consequences are far more disastrous to the Blanc Sablonite should the rain continue for weeks at a stretch. In 1933 this sort of precarious drying extended from August to November.[3]

[2]Informant, Jean Letemplier, lighthousekeeper of Greenly Island, employe by the Canadian government.

3 J., I. C.

BERRY PICKING

Berry picking in the hills at the back of the village is engaged in by the women and children of Blanc Sablon about the middle of August. The first berries to ripen are the bake-apple *(rubus chamaemorus)*, and the plumboy *(rubus acaulis)*, although the latter is not fully ripe until about the end of the month. Most other berries ripen considerably later. But berry picking is really a minor activity, and one in which the men do not generally participate. When the weather permits, the drying of the cod catch is the major activity—and in this even the women sometimes take part. The weather precluding all efforts of this nature, and there being no fishing possible—at least during August—the herring-nets are carefully examined and repaired for service during the following month.

DRYING OF COD

The cleaned and salted cod is left in the "stage" all through July and the first part of August. During the first fortnight of August, provided the weather is propitious, the "making" of fish begins. This operation consists of loading the salted cod on to wheelbarrows, carrying it to special puncheons filled with sea-water, and washing and scrubbing it free of salt. It is then carried to the "flakes"—framework raised a short distance above the ground and covered with old nets. There it is spread out in the sun, where it becomes thoroughly dessicated and ready, finally, for market.

The celerity with which this operation is performed depends partly on the number and sizes of the "flakes," partly on the size of the catch, and last, but certainly not least, on the weather. Usually from thirty to thirty-five quintals can be "made" in one day by one family. The "making" begins with sunrise and ends at sunset. The partly dried fish are then collected and piled into either circular or square heaps from four to five feet high and covered with sailcloth as a precaution against rain. The next morning the fish are again placed on the "flakes" and given another day of drying. This process is repeated for about a week, by the end of which time the cod is almost entirely dry. It is stored for a few days, and then taken out for a final drying.

While the partially and completely dried cod is thus stored away, more fish is taken out of the "stage," washed clean of its

salt, and placed on the "flakes" until the whole season's catch has been disposed of. In 1933, in the instance of the Pierre (Old Peter) Lavallée family, whose catch consisted of some four hundred quintals, these operations were engaged in throughout the entire month of August, and extended well into September. In all of such procedure an economic participation, similar to that already delineated, with each man having a specific task to fulfill, is obtained with only minor variations in the division of labor.

HERRING-FISHING

Throughout the month of August, at night, or during stormy weather when the "making" of fish has to be postponed, the herring-nets are repaired in preparation for the herring, which come shoreward during September. The herring-net is a much finer fabrication than the cod trap-net. It is made of twine one thirty-second of an inch in thickness, and has meshes an inch and one-quarter square.

The herring are cleaned—that is, the entrails are removed—and salted away in barrels. But the profit made by herring-fishing is almost incredibly meagre, considering the time and the effort consumed in the activity, and thus herring-fishing must be looked upon as a minor occupation only, and virtually on a plane with berry picking; for while the Hudson's Bay Company pays about four dollars a barrel for this fish, the cost of the herring-barrels—purchased from the Hudson's Bay Company—runs from two to two-and-a-half dollars apiece. Coarse salt, furthermore, averages about two dollars and seventy-five cents a hogshead. One instance where one family caught and salted twenty-five barrels of herring, clearing not more than twenty-five dollars for the lot, is rather noteworthy but not unique.[4] Indeed, when the expense of net-repairing is added to the foregoing expenditures, it should not seem unusual that most Blanc Sablon men prefer to keep the herring as winter food for their dogs, rather than dispose of it through trade.

WOOD-GATHERING

The procuring of wood may be considered as one of the two primary or central activities of the Blanc Sablonites. The other

[4]Informant.

activity, as we already know, is the cod industry. All the other and numerous activities are in the main subordinate and contributive to these two in the general, annual, socio-economic cycle. This activity has a dual significance, in that it is bound up with the dog culture-complex on the one hand, and with the wood-gathering technique on the other. Of the dog culture-complex and its place in the culture pattern of Blanc Sablon mention will be made later.

With the appearance of the first snows the folk of Blanc Sablon engage in wood-gathering. The period of this activitiy extends roughly from the fifteenth to the twentieth of October. But long before the first fall of snow—that is, around the end of September—the folk go from nine to ten miles inland and northwest of the village to dig out the roots of certain stunted coniferous trees so common in the sparsely-wooded regions of the sub-arctic zone.

Small scrubby conifers grow in rocky depressions through which fresh-water streams flow bringing with them soil and silt—root-hold and nourishment in short—for such undersized vegetation. The groups are equipped with hatchets in order to clear away tangles of brush so that the roots may be reached and pulled out by hand. It is these roots that the folk desire. They are tough, gnarled, resinous, and slow-burning—an effective fuel against the stinging, bitter, sub-zero blasts of winter. The majority of them are not much larger than twenty inches in circumference, with lengths not greater than six or eight feet, including part of the trunk above and below the ground. The work, which is gruelling and tedious, is made even more difficult by the ever-increasing distances the groups must travel from year to year.

After the roots have been dug out in this fashion they are piled in heaps until the first substantial snowfall, and then transported home on dog-drawn *cométiques*. Light snow is very important for these heavily-laden vehicles could not be moved otherwise, and they are the only means that the folk have at their disposal for conveying the wood from the mountains down to the village. The roots are placed lengthwise between the horns of the *cométique* (see illustration), and roped tightly down. The dogs strain forward in their sealskin harnesses, and the men trudge beside the loads, keeping a vigilant lookout for sudden declivities, upon meeting which a chainbrake, made sometimes of rope, is thrown under the runners of the sled-like conveyance to keep it from toppling over.

After the roots have been brought home, they are piled up behind the huts in conelike heaps to be used subsequently for fuel.

THE DOG CULTURE-COMPLEX

The canine race is everywhere plentifully represented. From Havre St. Pierre (Pointe-aux-Esquimaux) on, every family possesses from five to as many as ten dogs. These animals are known as huskies—or Eskimo dogs; although one may encounter several varieties of these draught animals, some of them resembling the samoyed species, others not unlike the timberwolf. Most of the time they are left to shift for themselves, and this they do, feeding upon fresh fish debris thrown from the wharves during fish-cleaning operations. When this source fails them, they go in packs to the edge of the water where the capelin come to breed, and it is not at all uncommon to see them wading in the shallows with fresh capelin in their mouths. True scavengers are they, as is attested particularly by their feeding upon human fecal matter; but to this extreme they go only when the food of their more normal diet is scarce.

From October to April, and sometimes in May also, the dog-team —known in Canadian Labrador as *le cométique*[5]—is the only means of travel between communities. It is used also, as we have seen, for wood-gathering. The speed of such travel slightly exceeds summer water travel. Motor-driven and sailing vessels travel from seven to eight knots per hour; a dog-team averages from eight to ten, provided the trail is not too rough.

The Eskimo dog, dog-harness and dog-shoes (made either of canvas or seal-hide to protect the animals' paws from sharp edges of snow and ice), the snow-goggles, sledge, and leader-dog, and the language and clothing of the men—these are all clearly traits of the Eskimo dog-culture farther north, taken over and utilized by the French-Canadian habitant fisherman as well as the English-speaking Liveyere.

The dogs are never allowed to enter the houses; even the very young dogs have to remain outside whatever the weather, and usually sleep under the floorings or house-piles. The grown-up huskies curl themselves up at night in wind-protected depressions on the rocks. "Ugly" dogs only are kept chained. The animals

[5]Borrowed from the Eskimo *Komatik*.

otherwise run wild, and are able to engage unrestrained, consequently, in their scavenging activities. This takes the burden of their maintenance off the shoulders of the folk, who do not feed their dogs during the fishing season, being too busy to concern themselves with other than their own economic activities. The result of this is that the dog of Blanc Sablon early acquires stamina and the ability to take care of himself, even as the dog of the Eskimo.

The folk never lose sight of the dog's valuable rôle in their communal system. In summer when the dog's service is not needed the folk never forget to salt away sufficient quantities of dog-fish, salmon, and mackerel for his winter consumption, regardless of impending economic exigencies.

TRAPPING AND HUNTING

November ushers in trapping and hunting. In a preceding chapter[6] a list has been given of the several varieties of fur-bearing animals trapped or hunted within Zone III. Only a few of these, however, frequent the mountains north of Blanc Sablon. The muskrat is hunted during the first week of November, and after that is not encountered until about the middle part of May. The same is true of the otter; for both these animals live in and around fresh-water accumulations which freeze over between November and May, forcing them to hibernate. This leaves only the fox and the weasel, and these are trapped continually throughout the winter. The marten, mink, and mountain-cat are rarer here than around some of the rivers and streams lying west of Blanc Sablon. Steel traps, imported by the Hudson's Bay Company, are generally used. The prices paid for furs are as follows: red fox, $ 15.00; silver fox (which is rare in this region), $ 50.00; weasel, $ 0.50; otter (rare), $ 23.00; and mink (rare also), from $ 27.00 to $ 28.00.

SEALING

Every year, during March, enormous masses of ice are brought down along the coasts of Labrador and Newfoundland by the Arctic, or Labrador, current. On these ice floes are thousands of seals, that have sought refuge and isolation for the purpose of

[6] See Chapter II, p. 15.

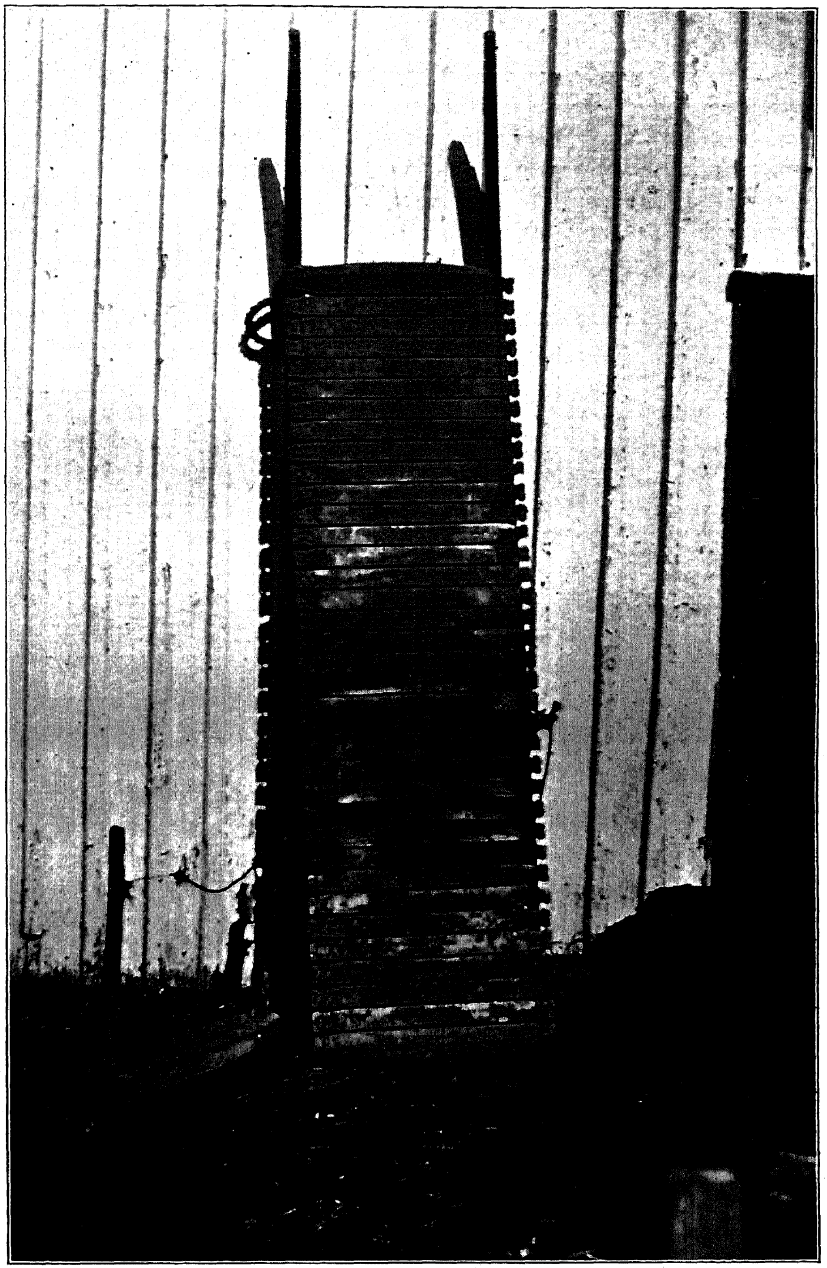


Photo by W. L. Holdefer

Le Cométique

rearing their young. In Newfoundland alone are many steamers and thousands of men all engaged during this time of year in the sealing industry. The vessels set out about March 12, when the young seals are in the best of condition. Arrived at the grounds, the men make their way in among the ice floes with clubs, killing the animals by striking them on the throat—one of the few vulnerable spots on the body. Only the blubber and skins are carried away.

In Blanc Sablon this form of exploitation is carried on also—although in a much smaller measure, and with ordinary boats. The habitant fishermen, however, eat the flesh of the young seals, as well as utilize the blubber and skins. The reason for this is that the community suffers a perennial scarcity of fresh meat; and any change of diet, whenever possible, is consequently always welcomed.

The Blanc Sablon season for sealing is throughout May. By this time the young seals have found their fins, so to speak, and, having taken to the water, are caught with trap-nets set under the ice. Here again we have another instance of economic participation and co-operation; for the men hunt in family groups, and each group's interests are protected by markers set up on the shore to indicate where the nets are sunk.

The first operation, after the hides have been obtained, is called "scalping." The skins are first scraped clean of all fatty particles, for usually there is about one inch of fat adhering to the surface. Each skin is then washed in a mild solution of lye or soda.[7] Finally its sides are perforated, and it is stretched on special drying frames, and secured by means of coarse net twine. During the sealing season one may see such frames exposed to the rays of the sun on the roof of almost every hut in Blanc Sablon. Four weeks of sun-drying generally suffices. The prices, set by the Hudson's Bay Company, for skins treated in this manner range from 25c. to 50c. apiece; and the folk, who seldom if ever handle cash money, take their profit in food articles—canned goods and other necessities—similarly as in cod-fish trading.

Frost-drying is an alternative method of drying involving more labor and resorted to only when an absence of sunlight makes sun-drying impossible. The skins are left overnight on the frames to be acted on by frost, taken down in the morning, and the under-

[7]Obtained from the Hudson's Bay Company.



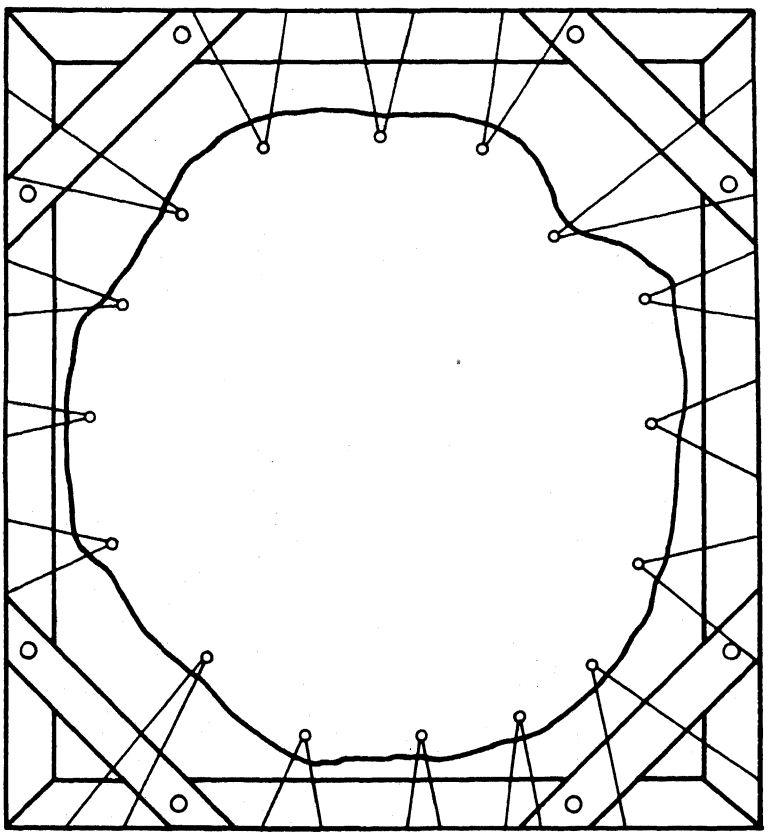
Photo by W. L. Holdefer

Labradorian Sled-Dogs

side scraped again. The scraping is repeated twice in succession before the skins are considered clean. Frost-drying takes from one to two weeks; whereas sun-drying, the longer process, occupies anywhere from four to six weeks.

"BARKING" OR TANNING OF HIDES

In the "barking" or tanning of hides for leather several steps are necessary before the final product is reached. All fatty



Sealskin on frame

particles are first removed with a knife. The skin is next stretched on a frame similar to that used in sun-drying, and afterwards immersed in water with the hair side up for about three

weeks, at which point the hair is scraped off by means of a rasp-file. A light salting follows; the skin is taken down from the frame and put into a "small pickle." It is then washed thoroughly in lukewarm water. Finally, it is stretched on a frame again for two more days. In this last drying care must be observed to keep the skin in the shade lest the sun turn the hide black. From this final product sealskin boots are made. The Hudson's Bay Company pays about two dollars and fifty cents for each tanned hide.

If there is no time for either curing or tanning when the seals are first caught, the green skins are heavily salted, folded, and stored away until they can be taken care of.

RESUMÉ OF ANNUAL SOCIO-ECONOMIC CYCLE

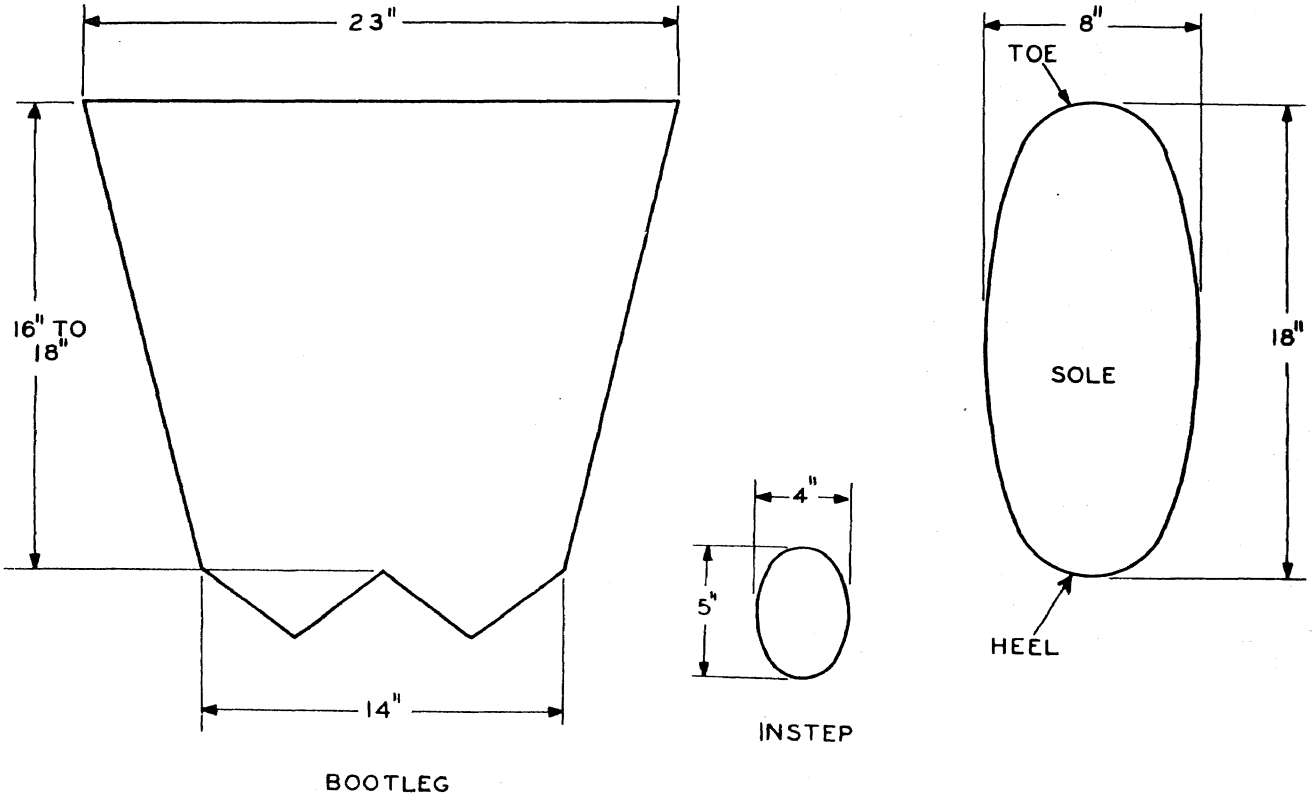
Latter part of June to the end of July: cod-fishing and "making" of cod, with occasional sealing by trap-nets. August: advent of dog-fish, end of cod-fishing, washing and drying of cod, repairing of herring-nets, berry-picking. September: herring-fishing, salting of cod, beginning of wood-gathering. October: wood-gathering with dog-teams. November (first week): muskrat and otter trapping. December to March: fox and weasel trapping. March: sealing on ice floes (although rare in Blanc Sablon). April to May: sealing by trap-nets, sealskin curing and sealhide "barking."

Other economic activities: Sealhide boot manufacturing.—Wearing apparel.—Hooked rugs.—The *Violoneux*. While the folk of Blanc Sablon are engaged constantly of necessity in major economic activities, they turn occasionally to pursuits which can be said to be subordinate and contributive. These pursuits must, therefore, be locked upon as minor in their significance and scope. They are followed only when nothing else intervenes; they are dropped immediately any one of the major economic activities calls for attention.

SEALHIDE BOOT MANUFACTURING

Sealskin footwear is worn generally by the folk; and whenever it is needed, it is made at home. This culture trait was most probably taken over from the Eskimo. In Blanc Sablon one woman—the wife of Freddie Lavallée, *née* Mary Letemplier—excels in the making of what are known locally as sealskin "pacs."[8]

[8]See note on social status, Chapter V.



Pattern Used in the Making of "Pacs"

Several operations are involved in the manufacturing of this footwear. The sealhide—cured and tanned by the folk themselves —is first cut into pieces from paper patterns approximating the foot sizes of those who are to wear the commodity. The patterned hide is then folded in the middle, and its uneven edges are trimmed and "squared up." The pieces are next dipped into lukewarm water for about thirty minutes, after which they are dried lightly by cloth and worked for a short while to make them pliable. Finally, they are sewed together while still damp with coarse, waxed or soaped thread,[9] the edges being gathered into pleats.

Sealskin "pacs" are watertight and very comfortable to wear, since the shoe part is generally smeared liberally with cod oil. Sometimes the oil is mixed with tar. The action of the mixture—whether oil, or oil and tar—changes the color of the hide from brown to black. Decorative touches are secured through the common usage of colored bands, usually red or green, which are tied around the tops of the "pacs" just below the knee.

WEARING APPAREL

One of the characteristic of the *habitant* fisherfolk is the stability of dress styles. This, however, is not a unique feature of the Blanc Sablonite culture; it has been observed in other relatively-isolated folk communities in certain mountainous districts of central and southern Europe. A comparison of the present-day habiliments of Labradorian folk with those of their ancestors shows few radical changes. Graves of fisherfolk and schoonerfolk, who were buried more than seven decades ago, when opened have substantiated this. It would seem that the folk of the past wore some sort of woolen underclothing over which they drew woolen trousers and waistcoats.[10]

Originally the folk obtained their wearing apparel, which was all homemade, from communities farther west, perhaps even beyond Pointe-aux-Esquimaux. Others brought woolen apparel with them from the county of Montmagny. These relatively stable costumes were also pretty strictly localized, and varied only slightly from locale to locale. In most instances they were developed or worked out by those folk having limited means only,

[9]Obtained from the Hudson's Bay Company.
[10]In "dirty weather" woolen clothing serves particularly well, since it absorbs little moisture and does not permit the heat of the body to escape.

and the community where the apparel was produced was itself relatively homogeneous and stable. Thus the first fisherfolk settlers brought with them from Berthier, St. François, and St. Thomas—all in the county of Montmagny-woolen trousers, shirts, and vests, with the trouser leg worn tucked into a homemade leather boot rendered tight by repeated applications of cod oil. The extended sojourn of the folk in the Labrador country brought them into contact with the Eskimo, from whom they borrowed his knowledge and technique of sealhide curing and "barking," and seal-boot and tunic manufacturing.

The present-day apparel of the men consists usually of sealskin boots, woolen socks, mackinaw breeches, and a leather or woolen, sleeveless jacket or waistcoat. Over this ensemble are sometimes drawn blue denim overalls. Occasionally rubber boots are worn, into which the trouser legs are tucked. A rubber jacket and a rubber hat (of the Homer Winslow type) complete the fisherman's toilette.[11]

The clothes of the women are made generally from similar materials, and consist of woolen skirts drawn over flannel or woolen underwear. The socks are of wool, the jacket is of a lighter material than the skirt. On Sundays aprons of a printed stuff grace some of the females. The footwear is of sealhide. Rubber clothing is in demand among the women also, although its durability is much less than that of oiled sealskin.

The headgear of the men in good weather is usually a woolen cap with a visor imported by the Hudson's Bay Company. Such is sometimes worn by the women also.[12] In "dirty weather" a sou'wester hat is worn.

The Hudson's Bay Company, which was established in this country in 1670, has been influential in introducing into Blanc Sablon, as elsewhere, factory-made woolens, rubber clothing and rubber boots, dresses of calico for women, etc. Contacts by certain of the folk with large, modern urban areas such as Quebec, Montreal, Toronto, Charlottestown (Prince Edward Island), and even the larger towns of Nova Scotia, have also produced fashion traits which with time have become stable and localized. This has made, of course, for a marginality or culture-accretion in so

[11]Except for the sealskin boots and parkas all clothing now obtained from the Hudson's Bay Company. One informant tells me that before the Hudson's Bay Company, or Eaton's or Simpson's, began to import machine-made goods the folk made even their own oilskins.

[12]One of the women—Mary Lavallée—owns and wears an aeroplane pilot's leather helmet, procured doubtless from the "Bremen" flyers.

far as the Blanc Sablonites are concerned. On Sunday the folk have a tendency to array themselves in their better clothing, but in this Sunday apparel there is little variation except that once in a while rubber overshoes are worn—no matter what the weather.[13]

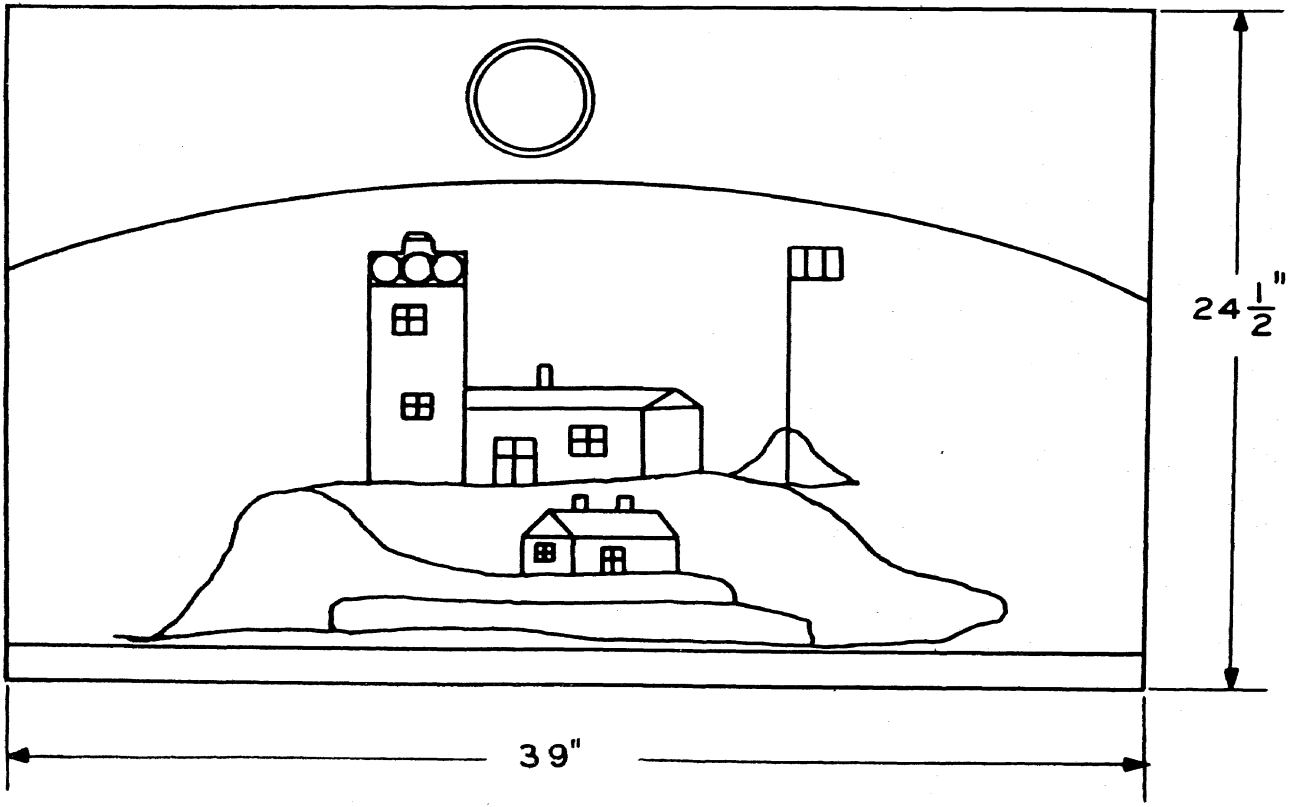
In spite of the innovations brought into the community by the trading companies, however, the apparel of the folk still continues to remain little affected by the outside world; for to-day, while shirts, mackinaws, and gaudily-colored stuffs are imported in to Blanc Sablon, mainly by the Hudson's Bay Company, the folk still adhere to their own and to Eskimo clothing such as fur-lined tunics, furtrimmed hoods (parkas), sealskin boots, etc., and particularly during the rigorous winter months.

HOOKED RUGS

Art, in its strictest æsthetic sense, is but meagrely and sporadically represented. Those items which are indispensable for physical comfort—for example, food, clothing, shelter, and fuel—and which are all difficult to procure in Blanc Sablon, take up most if not all of the folk's time and attention, so that very little consideration may be given to such interests as art—at least as the term is understood by us. We have already admitted into the æsthetic side of Blanc Sablonite life the making of sealskin "pacs" if such art is to be grouped under one head with all other activities after the more important elementary physical needs have been provided for, and then only.

The making of hooked rugs is engaged in by some women, not only as an outlet for self-expression, but also for economic reasons easily explained by the comparative nearness of Harrington, the site of one of the Grenfel missions.[14] This trait must have diffused into French Canada via the Maritime provinces, particularly Nova Scotia and New Brunswick, or via Newfoundland, from certain rural districts of the New England states. Thus we have the early American colonies[15] to thank for the inception of this art; and we may look upon hooked rugs, therefore, as products of genuine folk art—the only one, perhaps, which the first white settlers on this continent bequeathed to us. There was little of a decorative nature

[13] I have even seen such machine-made shoes pulled over sealskin boots. (Author).
[14] The folk occasionally sell these products to the mission or to visitors.
[15] The women of the colonies in their turn doubtless had the sailor of their time to thank. Such men are known to be adept at rough needle work.



An Example of Hooked Rug Design

in the early homes, most of which were almost bare; and art of this kind not only afforded an immediate outlet for self-expression, but helped to make the home more comfortable and habitable—a trait of feminine ingenuity which, from odds and ends of discarded material, produced floor coverings that made a pleasing spot of color and design on a bare floor.

The first rugs were always hooked upon a coarse linen web—spun and woven at home, and usually from flax grown upon the place. The use of burlap as a foundation came later. The majority of early rugs show, further, traces of design derived from sampler designs and motifs on old carved and painted furniture, and even from treasured pieces of old china. Many hooked rugs, however, show no traces of derived design, and are simply pictorial representations of objects to be found within the sphere of the worker's environment.[16]

The rugs of Blanc Sablon, though few in number, fall into this latter category, and the patterning, after local objects, embraces such subjects as water-fowl, seals, seal-hunters, fishermen's huts, schooners, and even a *machine volante*—the last commemorating the landing of the German aeroplane "Bremen" on Greenly Island a sight as epochal to the Blanc Sablonites as such contrivances are stereotyped with us.

The color schemes are generally polychromic, with red and green predominating. The rug in the accompanying illustration—an attempt to portray as realistically as possible the domain of a sibman—was made by the wife of Baptiste Letemplier. She used the following colors: two shades of green, one shade of red, blue, yellow, orange, brown, dark brown, grey, black, and white.

THE VIOLONEUX

One trait complex, which was carried over from France, concerns itself with the community *violoneux*. Violins were made formerly by the *habitant* himself from *plaine* (hard maple), free of knots, and a plank of fir, well-seasoned. The instruments now, however, are ordered through western Canada mail-order houses. But the old and tried melodies still continue, and the *gigue simple* (single jig), the *gigue-du-pendu* (jig of the damned), the rasping measures of the square dance, and the more buoyant airs which

[16]Historical information obtained through the courtesy of Claire A. Wolff, radio lecturer, from "Collecting Hooked Rugs," by Elizabeth Waugh and Edith Foley.

accompany the quadrille, the hornpipe, and the reel, along with the dictatorial figure of the *violoneux* himself, who carries himself as vainly as any virtuoso, are still as alive and unchanged to-day as they were years ago. Blanc Sablon is able to boast two of these accomplished men.

The fiddle is played by being rested on the fiddler's chest, held firmly by a slight pressure of the chin, and leaning aslant and downward on the palm of the left hand, while the elbow is braced on the upper part of the thigh near the hip. The constant flow of simple melody is generally well-cadenced, and possesses enough rhythm to invite dancing. It is accentuated by the hammering not only of the feet of the *violoneux*, but also those of the spectators.[17]

"One must live among such men ... to be able to appreciate all the wholesome and exuberant gaiety, all the charm of the village feasts in which the fiddler plays a part of prime importance. With its imposing air, the piano in the country is more often an object of vanity or a luxurious piece of furniture than a musical instrument. The gramophone carries cynicism to the point of raising to life the voices of the dead. The radio still exhibits the capricious ways of childhood. But all these three are contributing to banish into the shades of the past the picturesque figure of the *violoneux* ... At weddings particularly does the fiddle demonstrate its superiority over all other instruments of music. His services retained a long time ahead of the ceremony, the *violoneux* arrives with a flourish and is received with enthusiasm. He is less of a hireling than a professional man called in to direct consequential and stirring entertainment. He expects to be paid more in compliments and attention than in *argent sonnant* (ringing money, hard cash).[18]

The dancing varies according to the music played. In single jigs only one or two dancers engage, and if only two they face each other. The quadrille (similar to our country square-dance) consists of two, four, eight, and sometimes even sixteen couples going through a certain number of sets.

[17] I have been unable to collect some of the folk melodies mainly because I cannot write music and had no recording machine.

[18] Georges Bouchard, *Other Days Other Ways*, tr. by Alan Hunt Holley from *Vieilles Choses Vieilles Gens* (Montreal, 1929), pp. 121-126.

HOUSES AND INTERIORS

Twelve houses shelter Blanc Sablon, the entire population of which is seventy-eight, not including three or four hired men who return to Newfoundland at the expiration of the fishing season. All of the dwellings are constructed with pine boards brought in by water from Rimouski on the Gaspé peninsula. Most of these houses are little better than huts; not a few of them have only two rooms; and the majority of them no more than three.

For the purpose of illustration let us take the dwelling of Pierre (Old Peter) Lavallée, the head sibman of the group.[19] This house is situated almost in the centre of the village, and is occupied by five people. It is erected directly on the rock, and has, therefore no cellar space. It consists of two large rooms, two cubicle-like rooms, an attic, and a pantry or outside-room.

We enter through the outside-room, the dimensions of which are about five feet by five, and which is used mainly for water-storage purposes. All doors approximate five feet five inches in height, a quite common measurement since the Blanc Sablonites are small in stature. Passing into the house from the pantry we come upon a combination kitchen and living-room, about twelve feet square. In this room are to be found an iron stove and three, plain, home-made benches, two of which are set under the two windows. At the back of the stove are two ladder-like racks fastened to the wall and used for the drying of wet woolen socks. Occupying the remaining space are two factory-made chairs, a rough home-made meal-table, a home-made cupboard, and a home-made side-table with a drawer.

There is no ceiling in this room, and the bare roof, consequently, is exposed. Several beams, two inches by six, and set at intervals of two feet, traverse the space; and on these, resting crosswise, are three muzzle-loading guns which are used occasionally in hunting certain of the larger fur-bearing animals such as the mountain-cat, and also fowl such as the puffin, jæger, razorbill auk, shearwater, and tern.

The walls of the kitchen are partially covered, sometimes with a cheap, yellow paper, sometimes with newspaper, to make them less draughty; but the two by four uprights, which have been white-washed, are fully exposed. This room has three doors: the

[19] See also chart on social organization, Chapter V.

one through which we entered; another, directly opposite, leading into a small store-room, five feet by five; and a third, to the right as we enter, which leads into the middle and more pretentious room looked upon as the parlour. All the doors have wooden handles with wooden latches—in Blanc Sablon no locks or keys are used. Each of the two windows has twelve small panes, presumably to guard against wholesale breakage. The floors are of unpainted soft wood, covered with home-made hooked rugs and two small squares of old green linoleum. The doors and benches have been painted with brown boat-paint. One of the two benches has been carved to make it more ornamental. It is in this room that the entire Pierre (Old Peter) Lavallée family congregates —that is, Old Peter, his wife, Mary, his brother, Ernest, and his two unmarried sons, Donald and Manuel. And here also all the meals are cooked and eaten, except on Sundays, when the whole family gathers solemnly in the middle room.

The middle room has the same dimensions as the kitchen. It has two entrances, one from the kitchen and one from the front, and also access to the attic via a back staircase. Two other and smaller doors leading into two cubicles, one of which is used as the government post office of the community—and operated by "Aunt" Mary—and the other as a bedroom. The middle room has two windows also as in the kitchen, one facing the sea, and the other, opposite and at the rear, looking over the swampland to the nearby mountains. Both have the usual number of small panes, and are covered by storm windows which apparently are never opened.

Since the attic is overhead, the middle room has a ceiling (forming the floor of the attic) six and three-quarter feet from the floor, and made of four inch boards painted white. Exposed beams, two inches by six, run crosswise. The walls are of wood, painted with grey boat-paint. The floor, similar in construction to that of the kitchen, is covered entirely with old green linoleum, scratched and torn from the many feet that have passed over it until its original design has become obliterated, and purchased probably several years ago from some mail-order house in Toronto.

In this room is also an old, aluminum-painted range, fired only on Sundays or during the colder days of the winter; its estimated age is seventy-five years. An aged and scarred Newfoundland table, made of soft wood and with drop leaves, occupies a place



Photo by W. L. Holdefer

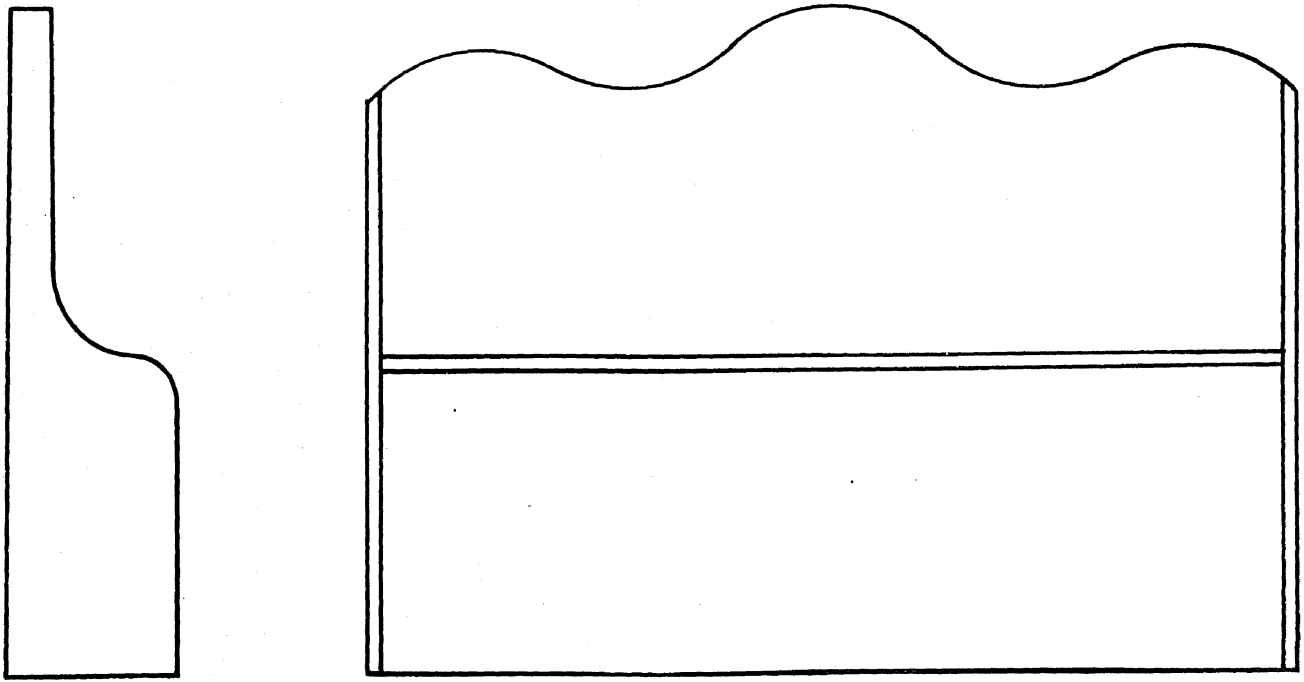
A Typical Labradorian Fisherman's Hut

near one of the windows. This, too, must be about seventy-five years of age; it is a type common in Newfoundland, and one occasionally sees them in certain parts of the New England states. A smaller, thin-legged, home-made table, eighteen inches by thirty-six, stands near the entrance to the kitchen; it has been painted green, and on it are a small linoleum mat and four potted plants (geraniums, and a certain sub-species of rose) in old lard cans. Beside one window and adjoining the kitchen door a roughly-constructed cupboard is affixed to the wall, reaching from the floor to the ceiling. It has four open shelves with an enclosed space below provided with two doors, and an ornamental top and sides. Against the opposite wall a wooden, home-made sofa has been placed. Its style is *à la Madame Récamier* (a style quite common in many *habitant* homes). Loose rag padding and a cushion for body and head comfort supply the place of upholstery. Under the sofa is a glazed porcelain-ware spittoon, purchased, doubtless, from some mailorder house in Toronto also. The windows—seldom, if ever, opened, as we have said, judging from the airtight sashing (an arrangement which precludes any proper ventillating)—are draped with lace curtains possessing geometrical designs and attesting "Aunt" Mary's solicitous attempts to metamorphose this otherwise bare structure into a home.

Twelve pictures—mainly lithographs of a religious nature—adorn the walls of the middle room. The subjects are as follows: the Guardian Angel; Saint Peter, with Saint Mary and the infant Jesus; David routing the Philistines; Christ, with the *Sacré Cœur* revealed on his breast—a picture particularly ubiquitous in French-Canadian homes; a motto, taken from Proverbs XIV, 26, "In the fear of the Lord is strong confidence . . .;" a print of the Reverend John March, Bishop of Labrador; Loch Ness, Scotland; the Royal Mail Steamship, Carnarvon; two calendars, one from Curling, Newfoundland, with a baby's face on it; and three photographs, one of some relative's house, the others of relatives.

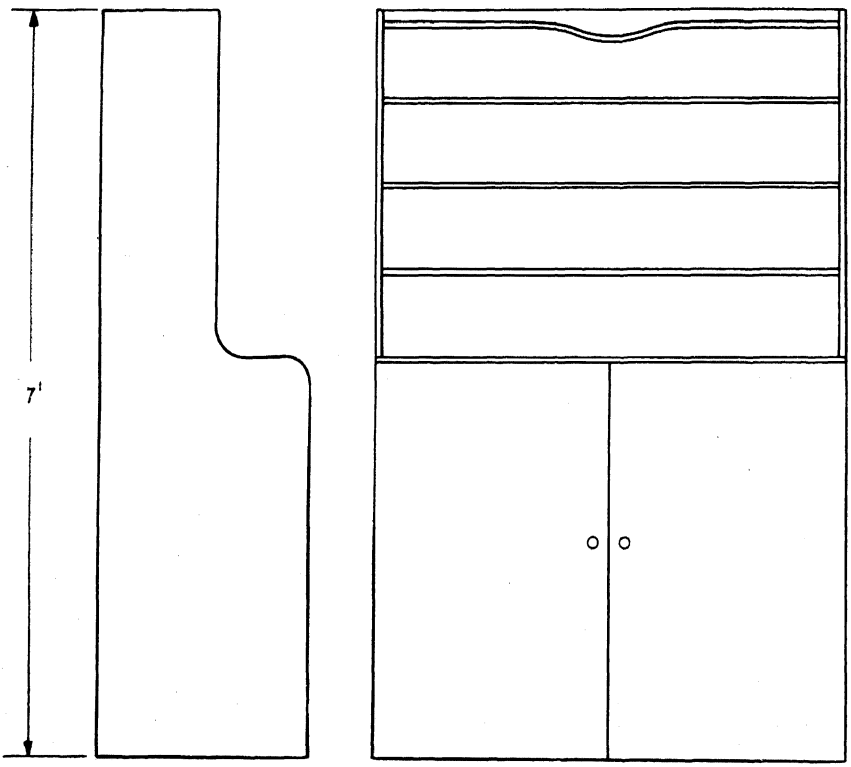
We shall pass over the attic; it contains only some roughly-made pallets, and is used as sleeping quarters for the four men; two small windows, one at each end, but never opened, supply a meagre light for the men to dress by in the morning.

The cubicles have already been mentioned. Each has a double window, the inside one having twelve small panes, the outside, two set vertically side by side. One of the cubicles has been con-



Design of a Home-Made Bench

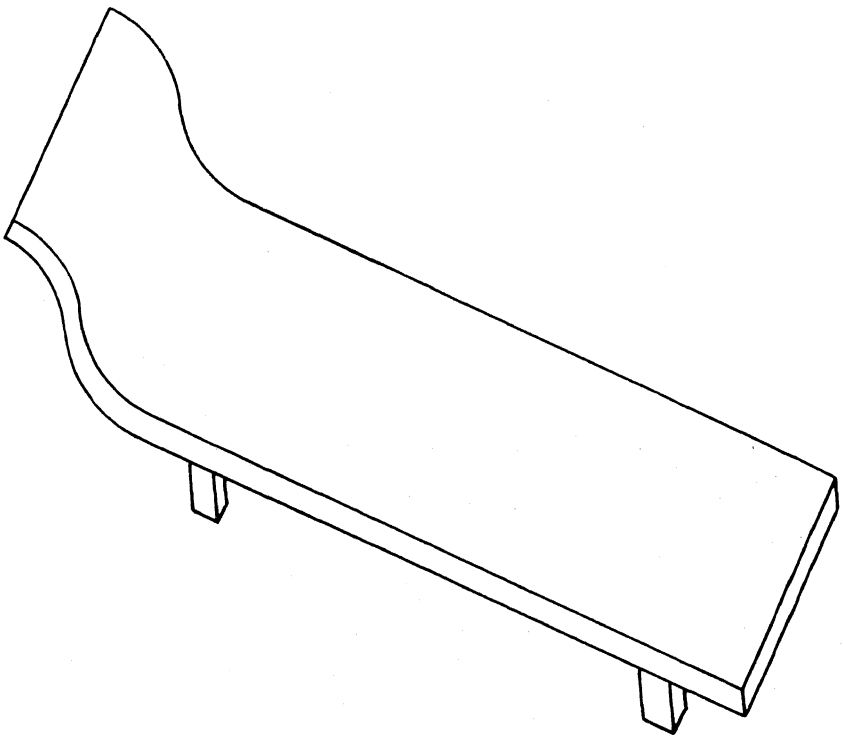
verted into a bedroom, and is used by "Aunt" Mary. This contains a small metal bed, about five feet in length, a small home-made bureau with two drawers, and a home-made wash-stand with one drawer. On the wash-stand is a stoneware basin and pitcher set, and above this, hanging on the wall, a cheap mirror about twenty-four inches square. The bed fills almost the entire space. Some room, however,



Design of a Home-Made Cupboard

has been found for a small, old-fashioned, factory-made trunk and a home-made rocking-chair. This cubicle has wall-paper with a flower design. The floor is covered with hooked rugs. On the wall are wooden pegs for clothing. The door, painted with grey boat-paint and provided with a wooden latch, is kept open, perforce, because it is so badly warped. Here, again, as in the middle room,

are pictures of religious subjects, seven in number: the Last Supper; the familiar *Sacré Cœur;* Saint Peter; Christ, bearing a crown of thorns; Christ, with a group of worshippers around him; Saint Joseph, with the infant Jesus; the Madonna; and an old calendar—of the "tear-off" type, but left untouched—with the picture of an English garden in full bloom.



Design of a Home-Made Sofa

We have been dealing here in detail essentially with the house of Pierre (Old Peter) Lavallée, the patriarchal head sibman of Blanc Sablon.[20] The majority of the houses of the village, however, are much less ornate in comparison, and may well be said to satisfy only the elementary need for shelter. In winter the wind roars through them, shaking them to their foundations; and any water brought inside freezes solid, unless kept close to the stove. In

[20]It was this house that the author lived in during his stay in Labrador.

summer, spring, and fall they are at the mercy of every rainstorm. But in almost every hut or house are to be seen the yearning lineaments of Christ, lithographed in a variety of flamboyant colors and bearing a crown of thorns; the *Sacré Cœur* (often placed over several doorways); and the Hudson's Bay Company calendar with the legend, "Incorporated May 2nd, 1670," and with the scene of the arrival of Jean Baptiste Lagimodière with despatches from Red River after a journey of sixty days at the ballroom of Lord Selkirk's house in Montreal on New Year's Eve, 1815.

CHAPTER V

The folk culture of Blanc Sablon pivots economically upon fishing and fish-curing—the two together constituting the primary or central economic activity—along with sealing, sealskin—curing and tanning, and the trapping of fur-bearing animals. Pineroot-gathering—another major activity—and berry-gathering are contributive as well as seasonal.

The folk is a parish *(paroisse)* community, and organized, therefore, around the Roman Catholic Church and *presbytère,* with one or two minor exceptions arising in those members of the community, who, coming from Newfoundland, or whose parents came from Newfoundland, still adhere to the tenets of the Church of England. But in most instances the head of the family unit is a Roman Catholic, and the respect and deference he is naturally accorded help, in the long run, to engender similar leanings in the rest of the unit. Where the woman's provenience is found to be in an English-speaking, Protestant community, however, there may be noticed a marginality of attitude toward the two sects, which is expressed on the part of the husband by his somewhat lukewarm acceptance of Catholicism. This attitude may be viewed further as growing out of a slow transition from a more or less blind ritualization to secularization.

Social participation is thus doubly tied up, first with the economic activities *(vide infra),* and second with parochial activities—i. e., the religion of the community. Although both of these phases of Blanc Sablon life are obviously related, the latter activity may be set aside by itself and classified under two headings: first, simple parochial activities—that is, those which come into being under the surveillance of the parish *curé* whenever cooperation is needed in promoting all church concerns such as repairs, altar renovations, and the like; and second, the strictly theistic regulations of Roman Catholic discipline—such as those

pertaining to prayers, fasts, novenas, confessions, communion, confirmations, baptisms, the sacraments of extreme unction and marriage, and burial.

As already pointed out in the previous chapter, twelve huts shelter Blanc Sablon, the entire population of which is seventy-eight, exclusive of three or four hired men from Newfoundland, who return to that country at the end of the fishing season. The accompanying chart gives the inventory by age, sex, household composition and kinship.

THE SIX INTEGRATIONS[1]

In treating the social cohesion and interaction of Blanc Sablon we must first look upon the twelve houses of the village as twelve small families. These form what might be called the first integration —with each group having a substantive existence independent of the other eleven groups. These twelve groups are further functionally integrated as extended primary groups, giving us the second integration. One very pertinent instance, as we have already observed, exists in the Pierre (Old Peter) Lavallée family, where Old Peter, his two unmarried sons, Donald and Manuel, his brother, Ernest, and his married son, Young Peter, all work together and pool the profits accruing from their joint labors. A third integration concerns itself with the whole Lavallée sib;[2] a fourth, with the Lavallée and the Letemplier sibs working and cooperating as one for the common interest and welfare of the entire fishing village; a fifth, with the inter-relationship of both sibs with the Hudson's Bay Company, the dependence of the sibmen upon the company, and, concomitant upon this dependence, an open condemnation of the company's unjust economic principles; and a sixth, with the more or less unified participation of Blanc Sablon with the neighboring village of Longue Pointe—a participation which is to a considerable extent enforced, because in Longue Pointe are the church and the *curé*, and there also resides a small but none the less important officialdom.

There are many techniques involved in these quite distinct

[1] A. R. Radcliffe-Brown, *Andaman Islanders* (Cambridge, 1933), p. IX.—"The internal aspect (of cultural adaptation) is seen in the controlled relations of individuals within the social unity. It is convenient to use the term 'Social integration' to form all the phenomena of internal adaptation."

[2] Sib as understood here is not the old German *Sippe*, but denotes a descent group in the same sense as given by Professor Lowie. *Primitive Society*. (N. Y. 1925), p. 111

SOCIAL ORGANIZATION OF THE VILLAGE OF BLANC SABLON

POPULATION 78 NOT COUNTING 3 CHILDREN OF EDWARD LETEMPLIER WHO ARE EITHER IN QUEBEC OR WITH RELATIVES ON GREENLY ISLAND

LAVALLEE SIB – 42 PEOPLE
LETEMPLIER SIB – 25 PEOPLE
WELSHES & ANDREWS – 11 PEOPLE
TOTAL – 78

N
W — E
S

BOGS AND MARSHES

MOUNTAINS HALF MILE BACK OF VILLAGE

PATH TO LONGUE POINTE DE BLANC SABLON

PATH TO HUDSON'S BAY CO. POST

HUDSON'S BAY CO. POST NOT INCLUDED IN THE VILLAGE ORGANIZATION OF BLANC SABLON PROPER. HERE LIVE THREE FAMILIES. THE NEWBERRYS SUPERVISOR OF THE POST, CHUBBS AND HIS FAMILY AND BUTTS AND HIS FAMILY

PATH TO ANSEAU CLAIR AND NEWFOUNDLAND LABRADOR

THE LAVALLEE SIB

HENRY LAVALLÉE
FIRST COUSIN OF OLD PETER (ILLITERATE). MARRIED SECOND TIME FIRST WIFE, JESSE, DAUGHTER OF OLD THOMAS LETEMPLIER, IS DEAD.
WIFE, ILLITERATE, NÉE EARLE FROM N.F. LABRADOR.
MARRIED 4 YEARS 3 CHILDREN
LILIAN – 3 YEARS.
BABY – 7 MONTHS
ONE DEAD

INTERMARRIAGE

BROTHERS

FIRST COUSINS

FREDDIE LAVALLÉE 44
ILLITERATE. FIRST COUSIN OF OLD PETER
WIFE, MARY, LITERATE, DAUGHTER OF LOUIS LETEMPLIER.
MARRIED 21 YEARS. 8 CHILDREN
LAWRENCE – 21 YEARS
PATRICK – 18 YEARS
CECILE – 17 YEARS
JEROME – 15 YEARS
EMILE – 14 YEARS
JOSEPHINE – 12 YEARS
WILFRID – 7 YEARS
GORDON – 3 YEARS

BROTHERS

FIRST COUSINS

THOMAS LAVALLÉE
ILLITERATE. FIRST COUSIN OF OLD PETER.
WIFE, MINNIE, ILLITERATE, DAUGHTER OF OLD THOMAS LETEMPLIER.
MARRIED 18 YEARS. 7 CHILDREN.
ROSALIE – 15 YEARS
ELLEN – 9 YEARS
WILLIE – 6 YEARS
GABRIEL – 4 YEARS
3 DEAD.

FIRST COUSINS

PETER LAVALLÉE OLD PETER
WIFE MARY, LITERATE, NÉE DUMERESQ, FROM N.F. POST OFFICE. DOES NOT SPEAK FRENCH
BROTHER EARNEST LIVES HERE. SONS:
DONALD – 32 YEARS
MANUEL – 18 YEARS

FATHER–SON

PETER LAVALLÉE 27 YOUNG PETER
WIFE, WINIFRED 29, NÉE CABOT, JERSEY N.F. WOMAN.
MARRIED 6 YEARS.
3 CHILDREN
MARIANNE – 4 YEARS
EVELYN – 2 YEARS
JARRETT – 10 MONTHS
SERVANT GIRL AGATHA LAVALLÉE, 18, DAUGHTER OF NARCISSE, BROTHER OF OLD PETER

UNCLE NIECE

INTERMARRIAGE

INTERMARRIAGE

FIRST COUSINS

OLD THOMAS LETEMPLIER 60
WIFE, ALMOST ILLITERATE, NÉE PATTON.
MARRIED 39 YEARS. 6 CHILDREN ONE OF WHOM DIED AT THE AGE OF 7.
EDWARD – 35 YEARS. LIVES IN OWN HOUSE. SEE BELOW.
MINNIE – 34 YEARS. MARRIED THOMAS LAVALLÉE. LIVES IN HIS HOUSE.
ELSIE – 25 YEARS. MARRIED JOE WELSH OF FLOWER'S COVE, N.F.
JOHN – 21 YEARS. AT HOME.
JESSIE – 18 YEARS. DEAD. FIRST WIFE OF HENRY LAVALLÉE.
IN THIS HOUSE ALSO LIVE:
JESSIE'S DAUGHTER ANNIE LAVALLÉE AGE 13, ILLITERATE.
EDWARD'S ORPHAN IRENE, AGE 4, DAUGHTER OF THE DEAD MARGARET, NÉE PIKE, SISTER OF CAROLINE, WIFE OF JEAN LETEMPLIER GREENLY ISLAND LIGHTHOUSEKEEPER.

FIRST COUSINS

LUKE WELSH 37
FROM FLOWER'S COVE N.F. SCHOOLMASTER, BUT WORKS FOR HUDSON'S BAY CO. QUITE LITERATE.
WIFE 36, QUITE LITERATE, NÉE LAVALLÉE, DAUGHTER OF OLD NARCISSE DEAD. SHE IS FIRST COUSIN OF OLD PETER AND EARNEST LAVALLÉE, NEPHEWS OF OLD NARCISSE.
MARRIED 17 YEARS. 7 CHILDREN.
PATRICK – 15 YEARS
NARCISSE – 14 YEARS
JOSEPHINE – 12 YEARS
CLEOPHAS – 11 YEARS
MAE – 10 YEARS
ROSALIE – 6 YEARS
PAULINE – 4 YEARS
ONE MISCARRIAGE.

FATHER SON

BROTHERS

THE LETEMPLIER SIB

LOUIS LETEMPLIER 67
BROTHER OF THOMAS LETEMPLIER.
WIFE SUSAN, NÉE HARRIS.
7 CHILDREN.
MARY – 41 YEARS. MARRIED FREDDIE LAVALLÉE.
JOE – DEAD.
MARTA – 39 YEARS. AT ESKIMO RIVER.
ALBERT – 36 YEARS. SEE BELOW.
ALEXANDER – AT HOME WITH LOUIS. MARRIED BUT HAS NO FAMILY.
ELIZA – 21 YEARS.
ONE CHILD DIED AT BIRTH.

UNCLE NEPHEW

FATHER SON

ALBERT LETEMPLIER 36
LITERATE. SON OF LOUIS LETEMPLIER AND BROTHER-IN-LAW OF FREDDIE LAVALLÉE.
WIFE MARY, NÉE O'BRIEN, FROM N.F.
TELEGRAPH OPERATOR, QUITE LITERATE.
MARRIED 6 YEARS. 5 CHILDREN.
PATRICK – 6 YEARS.
MARGARET – 4 YEARS.
CHRISTINE – 3 YEARS.
RUBY – 2 YEARS.
ANNETTE – 4 MONTHS.

EDWARD LETEMPLIER 35
SON OF OLD THOMAS LETEMPLIER
FIRST COUSIN OF ALBERT
WIDOWER, 7 CHILDREN LIVING.
WIFE ANNIE DIED IN CHILDBIRTH
3 DEAD IN CHILDBIRTH
ONE CHILD DIED AT BIRTH, ANNIE.
EDWARD – 15 YEARS. AT HOME.
JOSEPHINE – 13 YEARS. IN QUEBEC.
DOROTHY – 10 YEARS. IN QUEBEC.
ONE CHILD DIED AT AGE OF 1 YEAR
BEATRICE – 9 YEARS. AT HOME.
JEROR – 9 YEARS. AT HOME.
IRENE – 3 YEARS. WITH OLD THOMAS LETEMPLIER
FLORENCE – 2 YEARS. WITH JEAN LETEMPLIER ON GREENLY ISLAND.
TWO MISCARRIAGES.
H. ANDREWS AND WIFE LIVE HERE.

HOUSE AND GROUND BELONG TO JOHN LETEMPLIER, GREENLY ISLAND LIGHTHOUSEKEEPER, BROTHER OF OLD THOMAS AND LOUIS AND UNCLE OF EDWARD.

FIRST COUSINS

BAPTISTE LETEMPLIER 27
SON OF FRANCOIS (DEAD). FIRST COUSIN OF EDWARD AND JOHN LETEMPLIER.
WIFE, JANE '24, NÉE ODELL, N.F. WOMAN.
MARRIED 3 YEARS. ONE CHILD.
HIS BROTHER JOSEPH (DUMMY) ALSO HIS MOTHER NÉE JONES FROM L.P. DE B.S. WHO SPEAKS ONLY FRENCH, LIVE HERE.

DEMOS AND BAPTISTE ARE BROTHERS

HOUSE AND GROUNDS BELONG TO DEMOS LETEMPLIER, BROTHER OF BAPTISTE. DEMOS IS ASSISTANT LIGHTHOUSEKEEPER ON GREENLY ISLAND.

HILAIRE LAVALLÉE 47
BROTHER OF OLD PETER AND EARNEST LAVALLEE.
WIFE, ANGELLE, 47 NÉE GARIVOIX.
MARRIED 21 YEARS. 7 CHILDREN.
CYRIL – 20 YEARS. } PARTLY LITERATE
JOE – 18 YEARS. }
ANTOINE – 15 YEARS } ILLITERATE
LEONARD – 13 YEARS }
MEDERIC – 8 YEARS }
MARY MAE – 7 YEARS }
ONE CHILD DIED AT AGE OF 1
TWO MISCARRIAGES.

CHURCH UNDER THE LABRADOR DIOCESE BUT PÈRE GAGNÉ OF THE QUEBEC DIOCESE HAS CONTACT WITH THE COMMUNITY.
THE CHURCH IS USED AS A SCHOOL DURING THE WINTER MONTHS. THE CURE P. GAGNÉ IS IN LONGUE POINTE DE BLANC SABLON. SCHOOLMASTER WELSH TRIES TO TEACH HERE DURING THE WINTER MONTHS.

ECONOMIC ORGANIZATION OF THE VILLAGE OF BLANC SABLON

SALTING SHACK CALLED 'STAGE' OF THOMAS LAVALLÉE. HERE WORK THOMAS, HIS WIFE AND A SHARER FROM N.F. HENRY LAVALLÉE ALSO WORKS HERE.

FREDDIE LAVALLEE'S STAGE. HERE WORK FREDDIE AND HIS CHILDREN. LUKE WELSH'S FAMILY USES THIS WHARF. PATRICK AND CLEOPHAS WELSH ARE JIGGERS.

OLD PETER LAVALLÉE'S STAGE. HERE WORK OLD PETER, HIS SONS DONALD AND MANUEL, HIS MARRIED SON PETER AND HIS BROTHER EARNEST.
BARRELS WITH ROTTING COD LIVER OIL
STORE-ROOM

INTERSIB COOPERATION CONCENTRATED AT THIS POINT

BROTHERS

UNCLE–NEPHEW

JEAN LETEMPLIER 64
LIGHTHOUSEKEEPER. BROTHER OF THOMAS LETEMPLIER, OF BLANC SABLON.
WIFE, CAROLINE 36, NÉE PIKE.
MARRIED 20 YEARS 7 CHILDREN. ONE WARD.
MARY ADELINE – 18 YEARS
ANTOINE – 17 YEARS
JAMES BENEDICT – 13 YEARS
MARGARET – 12 YEARS
STANLEY – 10 YEARS
FLORENCE – 2 YEARS. WARD, DAUGHTER OF EDWARD LETEMPLIER.
MADELEINE – 6 MONTHS
ALL LITERATE DUE TO COMBINED EFFORTS OF PARENTS WHO HAVE TRANSFORMED ONE OF THE ROOMS INTO A SCHOOLROOM.
HERE LIVES DEMASE LETEMPLIER, TOTALLY ILLITERATE, BROTHER OF BAPTISTE AND NEPHEW OF JEAN LETEMPLIER.

LIGHT AND HOME OF KEEPER

FOG ALARM

GREENLY ISLAND

LOUIS LETEMPLIER'S STAGE. HERE WORKS LOUIS, HIS SON ALEXANDER AND ALEXANDER'S WIFE, HIS SON ALBERT AND SOMETIMES ALBERT'S WIFE

JOHN AND EDWARD LETEMPLIER'S STAGE HERE WORKS EDWARD, HIS SON EDDIE, HIS PARTNER ANDREWS AND ANDREWS' SHARER.

THOMAS LETEMPLIER'S STAGE. HERE WORK OLD THOMAS, HIS SON JOHN, ANNIE AND SOMETIMES HIS MARRIED DAUGHTER MINNIE LAVALLEE.

DEMOS AND BAPTISTE LETEMPLIER'S STAGE. HERE WORK BAPTISTE AND HIS WIFE AND DEMOS' SHARER.

HILAIRE LAVALLÉE'S STAGE. HERE WORK HILAIRE AND HIS SONS.

THE SEA

participations, and many attendant and associated behaviour patterns To take both the small family and extended primary group (the first and second integrations) it is presupposed, for example, that each member will fully participate economically and socially for the well-being of the entire group This pattern—which has been imposed mainly by the limitations of the physical milieu—may be considered rigid, year in and year out We have seen the Pierre (Old Peter) Lavallee group engaged in their joint fishing and curing labors Each male member knows precisely what is expected of him, and does it, sometimes, it may be, with grumbling and resentment—especially when the weather, the sea, of the motor of the boat seem to single him out from amongst all the others for their illwill, but nevertheless he lives up to his responsibilities The womenfolk on their parts busy themselves around their respective homes, and, on days when the steamboat arrives, help with the expedition of the mails When the men return from the fishing grounds with their catch of cod, the wharf becomes the scene of bustling activity Similar activities are engaged in all along the shore on each of the wharves and stages belonging to the other families of the two sibs

The third integration is that in which the whole Lavallée sib cooperates It may be that a boat must be beached for repairing or caulking—the latter with oakum and tar, or oakum and white of lead Ropes are attached, a loop is slung around a large rock or stake on the shore, and by means of two tackles the craft is pulled ashore Here both the small family and the extended primary group are involved

For the purposes of illustration let us assume that the boat belongs to Old Peter Lavallée In this event the men who heave the boat up on to the rocky shore are Old Peter, his brother, Ernest, his three sons, and his three cousins each of whom lives in a separate house Quite frequently in work of this nature members of the Letemplier sib lend a hand—namely, Old Thomas Letemplier, his son, John, his nephews, Albert and Alexandre, and Albert's hired man It is not uncommon, further, for even the women to join in these activities For example, the wife of Thomas Lavallée helps frequently to clean fish on the wharf of her father, Old Thomas Letemplier, when her own men are out at sea The same is true also of the wife of Freddie Lavallée, who in her turn is the daughter of Louis Letemplier

Such cooperation as the preceding, however, is linked partly to the fourth functional integration also, which comes fully into play whenever affairs concerning the welfare of the community as a whole present themselves Thus, when fishing, for example, is more lucrative around Isle au Bois or elsewhere, the news is passed freely from one to the other Surreptitious competition among the fisherfolk is unknown This does not mean that there is a common fishing-grounds Each small family has its own roughly-demarcated fishing-domain, and no one would think of poaching in it.[3] Occasionally the ground between the huts becomes flooded by mountain streams, resulting in an extension of the swamp up to the very doors of the houses and stagnant pools of water In exigencies of this sort the members of both sibs club together and drain off the water Or whenever any of the "Bankers"—so called because most of them hail from the Newfoundland "Banks" and are not, therefore, under the jurisdiction of the Canadian government—turn their schooners into the waters in which the folk themselves fish, the members of one sib drive them out, even though the territory thus invaded should belong to some other sib

The fifth integration is linked up closely with the marketing of fish, cod-oil, sealskins, and furs, and the purchasing by barter and exchange of all necessaries, fishing-equipment, and supplies from the Hudson's Bay Company or the L T Blais Company, Ltd It is brought into play further with the receipt of sacks of coarse salt furnished, supposedly free of charge and for the promotion of the fishing-industry, by the Quebec provincial government Each sack contains one hundred and sixty pounds of salt The Clarke Steamship Company acts as the common carrier of this commodity for all the fisherfolk of the North Shore, and charges twenty-five cents per sack for freightage The entire community of Blanc Sablon is in the long run dependent upon such strictly commercial organizations as the foregoing—particularly the Hudson's Bay Company—inasmuch as it is to these they are forced to turn in order to find a market for their products Needless to say, the terms are not dictated by the folk[4]

This fifth integration, then, concerns the attitudes of the folk

[3]Each fishing-domain is determined generally by long usage The original holders secured their rights probably through the same methods as squatters use in land holdings The sea, however, is vast, and squabbles over any particular spot do not generally arise On the whole the fisherfolk live together quite peaceably, sharing in common all economic advantages or disadvantages

[4]See also Chapter VII, *Commercial exploitation of the community*

toward this institution—the Hudson's Bay Company—and the great world market, of which they know virtually very little It is a relationship of resentment and smouldering hostility Among themselves it is expressed frequently in such direct and vitriolic terms as · "Lord Jesus, we fishes and works hard all day, and what the hell do we get for it? Last year they (that is, the Hudson's Bay Company) paid two dollars and twenty-five for a quintal of fish, but flour was seven-fifty a barrel, and salt pork twenty-five dollars!"

VISITING

Visiting in Blanc Sablon goes on continually The members of one family walk, unannounced, into the hut of another family regardless of their respective sibs "One's immediate neighbors have incontestable privileges in the scale of intimacy and devotedness, and they share to a great extent one's family life " A quite human necessity for the warming convivialities of close association prevail here as in almost any other spot on the face of the earth, and this necessity "of a sympathetic neighborhood has so far entered into the customs of the people that wherever there are settlements of French-Canadian folk there are also to be found dwellings drawn close together The privileges of one's neighbors, then, result in an intimacy of the most agreeable sort To them the home of the *habitant* is always open, they can enter without knocking, almost as in their own houses, they can come without ceremony at any hour of the day or of the evening, and join in the work or play of the family, they can never be trespassers "[5]

Similarly, the children of both sibs form fluctuating groups, and call upon the parents of their playmates with all the gravity of adult visitors Inasmuch as within the group there are marriages of an inter-sib nature, almost everyone is an aunt or an uncle or a cousin to the rest of the Blanc Sablonites There are also incognate relationships engendered by long and continued familiarity The children of Luke Welsh's family, for example, though only slightly related to the Lavallée sib, call Old Peter Lavallée "Uncle Peter," and Old Peter's wife "Aunt Mary;" while Old Thomas Letemplier, whose family and sib are not related to the Welshes at all, is known

[5]Georges Bouchard, *Other Days Other Ways*, tr by Alan Hunt Holley from *Vieilles Choses Vieilles Gens* (Montreal, 1928), pp 135-139

as "Uncle Thomas " The family of Luke Welsh has no fishing-gear of its own—that is, nets or traps—the cost of the equipment, approximately three hundred and fifty dollars, being prohibitive, they "jig" for fish instead, but for their fish-cleaning and work of a similar nature they use the wharf of Freddie Lavallée

COMMUNICATION WITHIN THE COMMUNITY

One of the important characteristics of the Blanc Sablon group is the great amount of communication going on within it at all times Most relationships are, of course, of a nature that endures year in and year out Everyone knows everyone else, and all business, regardless of its import or significance, is thereby made common property A daily social intercourse is carried on among the folk, the younger people acting especially as news carriers Within the community news naturally travels very fast, as is to be expected of a group numbering only seventy-eight souls

Significantly, almost all of this social intercourse is tinged strongly by economic interests The life-maintenance dominates generally all social acts and conversation This does not necessarily mean that economics crowd other values out of the communal picture It means only that a precedence is assumed by economics over all else,—and this precedence is still maintained even in the face of religious practices such as keeping the Lord's day holy This one phase of social life is to be observed particularly in the daily talks around the fire, and it may be well to point out that at these meetings—or visitings—which are about the only form of recreation these people indulge in, conviviality, or a sympathetic exterior at least, is something everyone must needs carry with him. The conversation centres almost inevitably around the fishing-industry Each family, of course, wishes to know how many quintals of fish have been brought to the wharves, and cleaned salted, and stored away in the "stages" by the male members of the other families Standing troubles such as accidents to the fishing-equipment—torn nets, leaky boats, faulty boat engines, etc —are aired garrulously Even indebtednesses to the Hudson's Bay Company for commodities and supplies receive a regally vituperative share of the fireside forensics If better luck in fishing befall one family,—a new topic is created for discussion, and the advantages of the seemingly-superior fishing-technique are weighed

one by one and argued pro and con In general all those events—favorable or "dirty" weather included—which tend to affect directly the fishing routine of the folk usurp the major portion of all conversation It must be stressed, further, at this juncture that in a subarctic community such as Blanc Sablon life is viewed essentially from the standpoint of bare and absolute necessities The most urgent need is for food, fuel, medical supplies, and the like—all of which cannot be obtained from the outside in any sufficient quantity after the annual freeze-up Food, clothing, shelter, fuel—the most elementary of human needs—and anything else concomitant upon or subserving these form consequently the immediate subjects of the folk's attention

The health, that is, the physical condition, of the individuals of the group—certain illnesses or indispositions such as bad accidents and infections, and even child-bearing—these run parallel in importance to economic interests only when their occurrence is immediate or imminent When such cloud their horizon, the folk turn to one another for aid, which is given gratuitously by certain of the "better informed" members Any other recourse would be impossible, since the nearest doctor is miles away, either at Harrington or St Anthony, the former one hundred and twenty-five miles, the latter fifty miles from Blanc Sablon The significant aspect of this social phase is that everyone in the village knows all the ailments of his neighbors, no matter whether they live next door or even in the next village Not only this, but all the details and symptoms of these ailments are known—that is, if they are grave enough to worry about Little is private in a Labradorian folk community

The social status of the members of the three communities—Blanc Sablon, Longue Pointe, and Brador—is quite frequently brought up for discussion also The appearance of any stranger or any luminary from another village is sufficient warrant for excited talk Whenever Xavier Joncas, for example, the Fisheries Inspector who lives in Longue Pointe, is about to visit the captains of the Newfoundland fishing schooners to collect from each the ten dollar fishing-tax imposed by the Canadian government on every foreign fishing vessel, each villager knows of his intentions beforehand, and after Joncas' visit everyone has been apprised to a penny of how much he collected all over the bay, and of whether he was more intoxicated on this last occasion than he was on the former

The gossip and the "grapevine" system work amazingly well in Blanc Sablon. the folk soon know most of the moves made by others almost directly they are made If something of uncommon interest occurs—three or four hours later the news is general property in all three communities In fact, the gossip and the "grapevine" discussion of all important situations and objects may be viewed as elementary forms of public opinion, for it is in the course of such discussions that the circumstances of their own lives and day to day existences are defined by the folk group—which here is the rudimentary public—who arrive finally at a basis of common understanding

An illustration of such a system may be interpolated here A senior student of mine, majoring in anthropology, accompanied me to Blanc Sablon in order to secure ethnological data for himself. During a short stay on Greenly Island he learned of the wreck of a square-rigger, some seventy-five years before our visit, the crew of which were all drowned The bodies were subsequently recovered by the folk of the vicinity, and buried in an unfrequented corner of the island No one knew the provenience of the crew, but it was suspected generally that they were all Jerseymen. The young man's archæologic *(sic)* curiosity was aroused He undertook the excavation of one of the victims The body was become almost entirely disintegrated by the moist sand in which it had lain for so long, and was certainly beyond identification The cranial bones, the pelvis, one femur, and a few ribs were all that remained, but adhering to the bones were pieces of green woolen clothing and a few brass buttons on which the legend "London" could be made out, fixing almost irrefragably the provenience of the owner

A flux of excited gossip followed this act The following day not only the whole village but all three communities knew of it, and before the week was up, the news had travelled up the Labrador coast, across the Strait of Belle Isle to Newfoundland, and twenty-five miles away The folk found plenty to talk about, and, judging from the unusualness of the act, will continue to discuss all of its details for many years to come, until time either obliterates all memory of it, or transforms it into a legend The student, as a result, secured a new status He was locally both feared and admired for his fearlessness, and deprecated and abhorred for his unholy attitude toward things dead and buried

The presence of strangers generally influences the conversation

of folk peoples With the Blanc Sablonites a sympathetic and trusted audience calls forth a list of their troubles Talk of food, clothing, fuel, and all other things of a like moment on such occasions is always in order It is not difficult to make such people garrulous as to what they desire in order to improve their existences—particularly when they begin to draw certain distinctions between themselves and others living elsewhere but engaged in similar pursuits The fishermen out of Newfoundland, for example, who get four dollars and more per quintal of cod where the folk themselves average less than two dollars are frequently pointed out as apt illustrations of blind inequity And interspersed among the verbiage of their ordinary but more serious conversational matter one often hears remarks indicative of a reaching out toward the vague mysteries of the larger world, the vicissitudes of which are brought to their ears only through hearsay [6]

Cash money is rarely if ever handled by the folk [7] They have, however, some conception of the purchasing power of the dollar. When one of the Letemplier sibmen was questioned as to what he would do if he had a thousand dollars, his emphatic reply was, "I would buy grub " Further interrogated as to what he would do if he had bought enough "grub" to last him the year around and still had money left over, his answer, virtually unchanged in its import, was, "I would buy more grub for my people "

Wishes of this kind seem to be the rule rather than the exception in communities enclosed within an inhospitable physical milieu such as that of Blanc Sablon, and tend to crowd the remainder of human desires—even those of a higher order—out of the social picture The satisfying of the essential human needs, with its exorbitant demands for time, attention, and effort, slowly dissipates the energies of those people inhabiting such a milieu, leaving few desires other than those pertaining to food, shelter, and the like, to be satisfied

[6] When the subject of food was brought up one day, Old Peter Lavallée turned to me and remarked "I hear you have a wonderful good fruit in your country called 'apple' " My agreeing that such was true induced in him a train of melancholy speculation on the taste of such a common (for us) article

[7] See also Chapter VII, *Commercial exploitation of the community*, pp 101-109

IMPORTANCE OF CHILDREN IN BLANC SABLON

It is of significance that in the play activities of the children of almost every one of the many cultures built up by mankind one may recognize certain aspects of the central activity patterns of their elders Thus children play at being sailors, engineers, storekeepers, post office clerks, firemen, soldiers, hunters, and so on, *ad infinitum* These play activities of children may be said to be engendered or occasioned by two influences—namely, that of immediate imitation of the grown-ups within their own spheres such as the family or families, or that of the less-immediate imitation of grown-ups not a part of the group in which they have their beings,—in short, by secondary contact Both forms of imitation are strengthened considerably by the enhanced values children tend to place upon adult activity

The children of the Blanc Sablonites, under the pressure of economic necessity, generally discover or develop their play activities in combination with the cooperative functions of the main economic pattern of the adult community A child finds considerable zest in responsibility, providing the work such a position entails is not too arduous or monotonous, and the remuneration—in terms of praise or respect—liberal During the fishing season in Blanc Sablon it is an everyday occurrence to see the youngsters go to the sea-shore with dipnets and buckets to fish for capelin—which is an important item on the community's daily menu The remainder of the summer imposes a variety of economic activities on the young, even as on the adults Older children go out to the fish-traps with their families, or busy themselves around the wharves and "stages" when the catch is brought in and ready to be cleaned. The activities of the children depend also on their age and their aptitude for work, and the facility with which they may be fitted into the general life pattern of the community

This absorption into the economic life of the village is not, however, wholly imposed upon the young The young show a zealous desire for participation, and more frequently than not are responsible for their own incorporation into the economic system.

During July the role into which the young fit consists mainly in their helping to clean cod, and in all of the operations are the boys and girls in their higher teens expected to join The children around

ten years or less often resent being left out of the picture, and endeavor to participate in almost everything done by the adults or their older brothers and sisters It is not surprising, then, that all the children of the folk, particularly the males, learn early all there is to be learned about fishing, and are able to discuss quite intelligently with their elders almost every phase of this activity This is true equally of all other economic activities of the village

During the slack season one may see the young rowing about the bay and playing with small water-craft—for the child of the Blanc Sablonite has no toys and has to invent his own amusements. The chief occupation or pastime of the children, however, at least during slack times, seems to be visiting Houses are entered without knocking As soon as a youngster gains admittance, he utters a greeting, sits down soberly on one of the benches, and begins a discussion of the current news of the neighborhood Often the children are important news-gatherers and disseminators, since they are able to get about with greater alacrity and freedom than the adults

School and its duties are not imposed upon the young of Blanc Sablon The children may or may not go to school, as they themselves desire This trait is discussed in a later chapter under the category *education* Since education in Blanc Sablon is not compulsory or formal, it cannot be treated here as a city trait diffused or imposed by the government, and as such characterizing the modern urban type of community

One trait encountered frequently in the children of Blanc Sablon is smoking It is not prohibited by the parents It is quite common to see boys of six or seven years smoking cigarettes made from a cheap tobacco obtained by the adults from the Hudson's Bay Company

A great familiarity also pervades the entire community It has been remarked that most of the children address their kinsmen as "Uncle" Peter, or "Uncle" Thomas, but a peculiar and commendable propriety is observed whenever they converse with the elders of the sib, whom they invariably address as "Sir" This word is used so often that one wonders whether this trait has not been adopted from shipboard usage in imitation of the captain and crews of Newfoundland fishing schooners touching at Blanc Sablon

BLANC SABLON AND THE SOCIAL STATUS OF ITS INHABITANTS

The creation of status in Blanc Sablon and its larger neighbor, Longue Pointe, has a double origin Here two forms of personalities may be said to have been created, the one springing out of and drawing its sustenance from socio-economic sources, the other, from ecclesiastic, theistic, parochial ones It may be said that even in a folk community as comparatively isolated as Blanc Sablon there is an increscent development of needs which cannot be classed as either essential or primary. To give but one example one of these came into being with the introduction of canned goods by the Hudson's Bay Company At first a luxury in the strictest sense of the word, they later on became almost a necessity Such superimposed needs were, of course, created originally by the urban systems farther west, in Quebec, Montreal, and Toronto, for instance, and carried gradually into isolation by the steamship and the like—in short, by modern transportation

A person who can more or less readily acculturate himself to such modernized techniques and standards stands somewhat apart from his fellows Particularly when he or she possesses a certain amount of training and education are any modern importations made functional Thus, in Blanc Sablon, the government telegrapher is the wife of Albert Letemplier, she learned telegraphy from her sister in Lansauloup, mastering the code and the handling of the apparatus in three months She is, consequently, a person of great importance in the community, and is held in esteem by the others

The next one possessing status is the wife of Pierre (Old Peter) Lavallée. She is postmistress, and discharges her duties in her own home Her ability to handle and sort the thin influx of mail, and to cancel postage-stamps and seal mailbags presupposes a certain, though meagre, amount of literacy The Blanc Sablon post office is a clearing-house for both Blanc Sablon and Longue Pointe In her work Mary Lavallée is assisted by her literate daughter-in-law, Winifred (*née* Cabot), whose provenience is Newfoundland, and who married Young Peter Old Peter Lavallée assists also by taking the mailbags to and from incoming vessels, which arrive once every fourteen days in summer, and to and from postal service dog-teams once a month during winter

Luke Welsh, who married Leffie Lavallée, the daughter of

Narcisse Lavallée and first cousin to Old Peter, took up residence in Blanc Sablon when he was appointed schoolmaster by the Bishop of Labrador He had taught school in Newfoundland for almost fourteen years Welsh, too, is another luminary, although the other folk have a tendency to sneer at him because of his impoverishment;[8] at present he is living in his own house built with capital accumulated by his working for the Hudson's Bay Company, but until recently, and for a period of two years, he lived with his wife and family in the small, one-room church which served, and still serves, as a school-house for the village His tutorial services now, however, are not being utilized, since none of the children wish to go to school, and his salary, also, has been discontinued

The wife of Thomas Letemplier is a mid-wife, and as such has a decided status Freddie Lavallée's wife—the daughter of Louis Letemplier—is very adept at the making of sealskin pacs Manuel Lavallée is the community *violoneux* It is well to note that these last three named persons obtained their social precedence or status by excelling in local cultural traits

There is Harry Andrews, however—really an importation by the Hudson's Bay Company—who quit his job last year (1933), moved away from the Company's small colony of employees, and opened a small store of his own in Blanc Sablon Although both Andrews and his wife—daughter of J Figuet, a small merchant of Old Fort—are considered outsiders by the indigenous Blanc Sablonites, they are yet esteemed as personages of importance, and for several reasons First, they dress according to urban system, second, they own a store, last, they possess the only radio set in the community They live with the widowed Edouard Letemplier, a nephew of Jean Letemplier, Greenly Island Light-housekeeper Edouard Letemplier has a victrola, which alone guarantees him a certain modicum of respect from the other fisherfolk

The whole Letemplier sib seems to enjoy a higher status than that of the Lavallées, mainly because one of their members, Jean, is a "government man," draws a salary regularly, does not have to fish for a living, and as lighthousekeeper enjoys the enviable privilege of living in a comparatively modern structure consisting

[8]Welsh, who by marriage is related to the Lavallée sib, possesses no fishing gear (trap-nets), his sons "jig" for fish and he himself works for the Hudson's Bay Company

of some sixteen rooms But a certain incident helped to establish Jean further in the eyes of his fellows On April 13, 1928, the German airplane "Bremen" landed accidently on Greenly Island The three occupants of the "*machine volante,*" Baron Huhnefeld, Major Fitzmaurice, and Captain Koehl, were Jean's guests for three weeks The whole world knew about the flight and its untimely termination Jean received some unlooked-for publicity, and was photographed and interviewed by newshawks from several news-gathering agencies. His counsel is valued consequently by almost everyone, whether in Blanc Sablon, Longue Pointe, or Brador Jean furthermore has spent twenty-six of his sixty-four years on the island in the service of the marine ministry, and has even visited Quebec on one or two occasions His wife, moreover, dresses in consistency with the urban patterns The two are particularly outstanding again, for their endeavors to educate their children One of the rooms of their island home has been converted into a schoolroom, and during the winter months a school-teacher, hired from St Pierre Island,[9] comes to continue their elementary education

Interposed between Blanc Sablon and Longue Pointe are the six buildings of the Hudson's Bay Company—namely, the General Store, the "Stage" for codfish and cod-oil storage, the Mechanic's Shop, the dwelling-house of the Chief Clerk, and the two dwelling-houses of the employees Here also lives the District Supervisor of the several Hudson's Bay Company posts scattered throughout Labrador and parts of Quebec His wife lives with him Both enjoy a decided status because of their comparatively lofty position The wife of the Supervisor has had, too, a nurse's training, and is called upon quite frequently to attend to minor and semi-major surgical work When their bull, for example, was attacked by Thomas Letemplier's pack of dogs, she repaired the damage done to the bull's scrotum, and sewed up the animal's wounds Such ability receives its rewards in the additional social status it creates.

Although the Hudson's Bay Company colony lives somewhat apart from the two neighboring villages, almost everybody congregates here whenever leisure permits One may always find some of the folk loitering here, either in the General Store or on the Company's wharf, and viewing, with undisguised interest, and

[9] A French territorial possession

occasionally malign aversion, all the activities in which the Company is engaged The folk admire the many mechanical gadgets which the Hudson's Bay Company keeps in stock

LONGUE POINTE AND THE SOCIAL STATUS OF ITS INHABITANTS

Socially ubiquitous in these parts, and travelling constantly to smaller communities hereabouts which do not possess any priest, is the *curé*, Père Louis-Philippe Gagné He, of course, holds the highest social status But outside of his ecclesiastical duties and activities he has also the additional status of practical dental surgeon The folk of Longue Pointe and Blanc Sablon allege that he enjoys pulling their teeth This sort of secular activity is an everyday occurrence in the villages, for almost everyone's teeth are in a bad condition of decay

In Longue Pointe there are twenty-three houses and huts sheltering about one hundred and forty-three people The majority of these earn their livelihood by fishing Six of the members act as the pillars, or nucleus, so to speak, of the community

M Alfred Cormier, who has lived in Longue Pointe for over twenty-five years, enjoys among the laity the highest social status He is the official collector of revenue—a "government man" A tablet bearing the legend *Canadian Customs* hangs over the entrance to his house The local telegraph office also is situated in his home—in fact, he trained all the telegraph operators east of the St Augustin archipelago[10] His early religious training at

[10]Although a telegraph station has been established in Longue Pointe for some three decades, messages are transmitted but infrequently Usually only the marginal personalities communicate with the outside world—that is, with Harrington and other points lying in the direction of Quebec—and such communications are generally for surgical or medical aid in emergency cases But such aid is always slow in reaching the three communities, a week or more being wasted in travel, particularly after the annual freeze-up Harrington, for example, a site of one of the Grenfell Medical Missions, is one hundred and twenty-five miles distant by water, and about one hundred and sixty by land A doctor, further, is not always immediately available, since the Harrington Mission serves a territory many miles in circumference, and containing innumerable small and isolated communities In summer the distance between Harrington and the three communities—Longue Pointe, Blanc Sablon and Brador—can be covered by small, gasoline-driven watercraft in approximately twelve hours, in winter, dog-teams, following a circuitous shoreline trail, take anywhere from sixteen to twenty hours of uninterrupted running It was the experience of the writer that a Grenfel doctor, even after an urgent telegraphic message, could not undertake to leave Harrington at once, due to his being absent on similar calls at points lying either east or west of Harrington A month after the message had been sent, he turned up in Longue Pointe and Blanc Sablon, but even then he had to limit his visit to these communities to one hour, since he had several other calls to make elsewhere This was during the height of the fishing season of the summer of 1934 Had the emergency call been made in winter, the chances are more than a month would have elapsed before his appearance In Labrador, then, the suffering person has consequently to fall back upon his own medical measures

Pointe-aux-Esquimaux (Havre St Pierre), and his earnest zeal in supporting all local parochial activities make him a pillar of the church as well M Cormier is a choir singer, as is also his son, Frédéric, whose knowledge of the larger Quebec cities and of mechanics, plus the ownership of a small yacht that he leases to the government's telegraph service for a certain consideration, place him likewise in an estimable social position Both of these men may be considered also in relationship to the category of special religious participation from which, together with their governmental activities, they derive their social status

It is difficult, if not impossible, to separate the two categories—the civil from the religious—in endeavoring to trace out the exact reasons for the distinctions of these two men both within and without the community M Alfred Cormier is considered by the folk of Longue Pointe, Blanc Sablon, and Brador as being the most sensible, most educated, most religious, and kindest of men While his official status of revenue collector and telegraph operator are the concrete or outward expressions of his social eminence, and while his house may be singled out immediately from among the houses and huts of the fisherfolk, his personality, however, is just as much the cause of his rather unique importance and status as his concretely demonstrable achievements and functions

The next ranking person is Adelard Beaudoin, Government Fisheries Inspector, and coadjutor to the local *curé* Adelard's house bespeaks his status and personality It aspires to the urban pattern both in construction and in furnishings In his best room in a conspicuous place hangs a papal recognition of his parochial activities, secured for him from the diocesan authorities through the intercession of the local *curé*

Xavier Joncas is a Fisheries Warden. As his name indicates, he is of that strange Acadian stock which was dispersed all over French Canada, New Brunswick, and certain parts of Nova Scotia by the *Great Dérangement—the* forceful deportation of the Acadians from Nova Scotia by the British about the time of Wolfe's conquest of Canada. But it is his ownership of a small yacht, which always flies the official blue ensign bearing in one corner the Union Jack, and his governmental position rather than his Acadian provenience that have secured him his status

Napoléon and Jean Beaudoin are small merchants The former has a status *sui generis* His facile excitability and unquenchable

desires for litigation are well known from Pointe-aux-Esquimaux to the extremity of Labrador

To this septet of worthies we must needs add Joseph Vignault, an Assistant Government Fisheries Inspector If nicknames furnish any indication whatsoever of social status, Vignault must certainly be said to have such, outside of his being a "government man" with the usual and inevitable official hauteur, because of his always smoothly-shaved chin, which has a shining, bluish cast, he is secretly referred to as "Joe Skin" He is, further, the only man in Longue Pointe who possesses a radio Joncas, the Fisheries Warden, and Vignault are close cronies, and are always seen together—a relationship cemented to a certain extent by the fact that Joncas is not literate, and has to solicit Vignault's aid in making out his reports Incompetency though this may be, it is yet permitted by the authorities to continue however; for Joncas is the father of a family of thirteen, and except for flagrant dishonesty the government functioning in these parts does not deprive a man of his daily bread

We may liken the foregoing types of habitant folk, who have been influenced by urban patterns and traits, and who have long ceased to be folk in the strict sense of the word, to Redfield's *los correctos* of certain Mexican communities [11]

SELF-CREATED STATUS

Finally, as types possessing status, we have those whose importance, however little, has been virtually self-created, and is, therefore, of a gratuitous nature The possession of a unique article or of a condition which has departed somewhat from the usual or customary norm is generally sufficient to place such types apart from their fellows Thus, when a student of medicine visiting Labrador called upon X's wife and diagnosed her condition, there was much talking on the woman's part around the community the next morning to the effect that "the doctor said I have a wonderful bad heart" Such a self-created status may either wear off or be lasting, depending upon whether the advertising of it is continued

[11] Cf Robt Redfield, *Tepoztlan, A Mexican Village* (University of Chicago Press, 1930), p 68

CHAPTER VI

The institution of the Lourdes de Blanc Sablon at Longue Pointe established a religious centre for the folk (the three communities) surrounding it Far from being a place where miracles are performed—as at the French Lourdes, or the Canadian Shrine of Sainte Anne de Beaupré—it still serves to commemorate the religious zeal and vigilant missionary activity of its first priest, Père Pierre Tabare The Statue of the Blessed Virgin is ensconced in a sort of gigantic crow's nest on Cap-aux-Corbeaux (Crow's Hill or Cape), and is visible from every side The church and the *presbytère* are immediately below This locality, then, acts as a pivotal point for religious participation, and involves particularly Longue Pointe, Blanc Sablon, and Brador

The sacred structure, however, serves more than the communities' spiritual well-being As it has served the social well-being of its adherents during the past three centuries in other communities farther west, so here in this additional capacity does it serve Compared with the humble dwellings of the villagers it is a beautiful structure But it is at no exalted remove from the lives of the folk, to the erection of it the folk contributed, the maintenance of it lies directly in their hands, it is as much theirs as it is God's, and the spirit of social and individual ownership comes into play as vitally as the religious feelings that permeate the community each Sunday The glittering and resplendent paraphernalia of the altar, the priestly vestments, expensive and ornate—at least to Labradorian eyes— the dim quiet, and the flickering light of candles work upon the imaginations and susceptibilities of the worshippers, it is true, but underneath these feelings is a rather astute evalution of a socio-economic significance, strengthened considerably by a sense of possessorship The Roman Catholic culture, through the medium of the *paroisse*, gives the members of the communtiy a definite direction in the

formulation of their canons of conduct by an old and stereotyped standardization The prevalent attitude of the folk toward the church and its representative, the *curé*, has become habitual, and is almost as dominant as the economic behaviour of most of the members of the community No one can deny that the *curé* (parish priest) is one of the most affecting figures in the social structure of Longue Pointe and therefore also of Blanc Sablon His presence dominates not only all religious life by directing the spiritual destinies of his flock, but he also closely supervises their social and economic interests. Though violations of law (murder, theft) are almost unknown in this region an occasional smaller infraction does occur Thus, we have the one singular case of burglary in which two adolescent boys of Longue Pointe broke into M Cormier's little store carrying away some of its stock such as tobacco and sweets They were soon apprehended But instead of exercising his legal powers and handing the culprits over to the R C M Police, M Cormier chose another recourse The local *abbé* devised the punishment, which was enforced by the injured party, M Cormier, and dictated to the fathers of the offenders M Cormier tied the stolen articles on the boys' backs, who were then flogged publicly by their irate fathers from house to house Thus, the entire community was able by tacit consent and silent sanction, to participate in the punishment, and the procedure discouraged future possibilities of the same nature It would seem, therefore, that the religious mores control situation of this order [1]

Around Blanc Sablon most of the older legends that were current during the time of the early pioneers on this continent have disappeared to be superseded by somewhat incoherent tales of buried hoards of treasure guarded continuously by jealous spirits. In the early days fearsome griffins and other fabulous monsters were supposed to infest and depredate the mountains of Labrador. Two islands north of Newfoundland were given over to a coterie of fiends from which has been derived their name, the Isles of Demons The forbidding, treacherous rocks and desolated shores of these sequestered seas had, so envisaged the voyagers, tenants other than the walrus, the barking seal, and the screaming sea-fowl

This transition from legends woven about a subject matter partaking of the fabulous and, for us, incredible to tales built around some concrete and tactile object such as buried gold is

[1] See also Chapter VIII.

worth our consideration In the first instance those who believed and disseminated the stories were essentially nautically-minded men, and figures, furthermore, out of seventeenth-century France and England To the sailor of those days the vast and seemingly-illimitable sea was not merely an expanse of water serving as the habitat of innumerable fishes and molluscs and the like, but the haven of countless terrors not a few of which were anthropomorphically conceived It would be admittedly stretching the point considerably to insist that Poseidon and his court and other entities of a similar nature out of Greek and Roman myth were alive to the seventeenth-century sailor, but even the loss of these represents no great deficit to the store of what we know was actually believed, for the dragon, the sea-serpent, and the mermaid were far from being nonentities These men, then, venturing into a new and virtually unknown world would naturally carry their myths with them, so to speak, and permit their imaginations to supply any defects of sight and hearing

The unmasking of the unknown, however, drives a wedge into such beliefs As the new country with time gradually yielded up its secrets, so, doubtless, did the old phantasies lacking authentication gradually pass away Whatever remained of the inexplicable or the uncanny was elucidated in terms of time-honored "ghosts" or "spirits" Particularly when certain mysterious occurrences or phenomena were associated with events which at one time might or might not have had an existence in actuality did these nether-world intercessors appear in local beliefs Instances of this will appear later in the chapter

In Blanc Sablon and Longue Pointe to-day are many reports circulating freely around of "ghosts" or "spirits" seen on the coast at certain specific times The reports are invariably wound around the same story with minor variations as to details, and all have generally the same *dénouement,* leading one to the conclusion that the "visions" must have been experienced by several people and at different times The first, and the one that is most generally told and widely known, is that of "lights" seen moving about on Greenly Island Several Blanc Sablonites insist upon the veracity of this report, and relate that they have witnessed the phenomena on this lonely island passing restlessly, in the dead of night, from one part of the Greenly Island shore to another. These people, however, have no coherent explanation to offer, nor has the light-

housekeeper, Jean Letemplier, who, with his family, is the only resident on the island at the time of year when the lights are, allegedly, to be seen The lights are said to pass up and down the shoreline escarpments and along the rocks from one point to another, as if carried by a human being Significant is the fact that many of the rocks may not be traversed by human feet The lights, moreover, are seen only at one time of the year—in winter, just before the annual freeze-up—and then at night only Similar phenomena have been observed at Peroquet Island also There has been a report, furthermore, of "sounds" heard in connexion with the lights, but not much credence may be placed upon this, since they were heard by one person only, and then but once The informant claimed to have listened at a discreet distance to a medley of excited voices, as if a group of people were in some sort of trouble and arguing the matter out among themselves.

Stories have been told also of moving lights seen along other parts of the North Shore, but here again both the evidence and the corroboration are insufficient

While many of the stories in circulation around Blanc Sablon and Longue Pointe are to be placed in the category of the *imagined* and the *partly-experienced,* not all of them, however, seem to be entirely products of imagination or vagary The lighthousekeeper at Greenly Island, for example, has a tale that concerns footsteps heard along the board walk that surrounds the lighthouse Letemplier, so goes the tale, was alone in the lighthouse one night with one of his own children, a boy, aged thirteen He heard slow and steady steps outside on the board walk Alarmed, he stepped out to investigate, and saw the silhouetted figure of a man walking in the direction of the light proper Letemplier followed the intruder The man suddenly disappeared on the stairs The lighthousekeeper seems to be rather well-substantiated in his story. For one thing, the lighthouse stairs have been, on other occasions, the haunt of unknown and unsolicited guests Further, there is no way of gaining access to or escaping from the island except by boat; nor is there any possibility of escaping from the lighthouse stairs once one has mounted them except through the proper exit, which in this instance was guarded by the lighthousekeeper

Letemplier believes that what he saw was the apparition of a previous lighthousekeeper who committed suicide some thirteen years before he took over the duties. He was, of course, frightened

almost out of his wits, and, on the next day, called the *curé* of Longue Pointe, Père Gagné, to exorcise the room in which the suicide had occurred

There have been several other tales of people seen in the building in which the fog-alarm is located Most of these, however, seem to have arisen from hearsay only, rather than from any concatenation of occurrences, and cannot, therefore, be given any consideration The alarm-house, too, is a dark, musty, creepy place . to a person who is himself somewhat susceptible of the lugubrious and the eerie such tales might easily be fabrications of the imagination

During the summer months the "sharemen" of the Hudson's Bay Company live and work on Greenly Island, cleaning and salting their catch The majority of the workmen so employed are Newfoundlanders, who return to Newfoundland with the termination of the fishing season One of these men, a William Dumereux, claims to have seen the apparition of a close friend of his who killed himself several years ago He was sleeping, so he relates, when the apparition awakened him by running its hands over his face and throat Whether this is true, we can be certain that something happened to him He is afraid to be left alone by himself after dark, and if left alone becomes frightened almost to the point of paralysis He will not go to bed by himself, and claims that he can get "no peace of mind" while trying to sleep in his winter home at Lansauclair The other workmen of the Hudson's Bay colony where he is employed, who have themselves had no reason for alarm, are inclined to scoff at him however

We have another and rather unique instance of religious belief with Jackie Lavallée and his family These people are disturbed every night when they try to sleep in the upper part of their home The bed-covers, it would seem, are unceremoniously "pulled off" This disturbance has occurred so often that the family has been dissuaded from using that part of the house They have no explanation to offer other than that their home is the haunt of "spirits" One of the Labradorians, a Dick Schatler, partly as a dare and partly because he was offered a bottle of cheap whiskey by Jackie Lavallée, once slept alone in this "haunted" house, but neither saw nor heard anything worth investigation Schatler's brother, on the other hand, was once badly frightened in the immediate vicinity of the Jackie Lavallée home, although he has refused to divulge what he saw, if, indeed, he saw anything The

sisters Wallis—the wives of the two Wallises who came to Blanc Sablon from Newfoundland Labrador, and work at present for the Hudson's Bay Company as "sharemen"—have been frightened also, and are afraid to go out of their house alone

To return to the curious phenomenon of the lights When first observed, they seem to be dull, phosphorescent-like glows, emanating out of nowhere, and suddenly bursting out into bright glares One interpretation the folk of Blanc Sablon and Longue Pointe place upon these is that they are the ghostly indications of gold hoards buried in these parts by the old French settlers of Bradoi, Blanc Sablon, Longue Pointe, and Peroquet and Greenly Islands During feudal times, and just before the British took final possession of the country, the French, all strongly ethnocentric and unwilling to bow to an alien yoke, buried hurriedly their valuables in iron pots and boxes and fled the country They hoped, it is said, to come back at a later date to retrieve their secreted possessions According to report, they never returned, and this wealth, consequently, still lies buried at various places

Several people have gone to Peroquet Island at various times to search for such treasure, trusting to receive some direction or clue for their labors from the places where "lights" have been seen, but they have been scared away by "voices" No one lives on this island, since it is a bird sanctuary where thousands of puffins and other water-fowl congregate

It might be well to anticipate here any associations the reader may have built up between the phenomena already cited and the myriad water-fowl that haunt those places where the phenomena are manifested It is to be remembered that the "lights" are seen only in winter, when almost all of the birds have migrated south

The story of the Black Goelette, as recounted by Jean Letemplier, holds an especial interest at this juncture On one particularly cold and frosty night, just before the annual freeze-up, a goelette (or schooner) painted a jet black appeared out of the murk in the bay off Blanc Sablon from no one knows where The vessel cast anchor. Several members of the crew landed on Greenly Island, and, with picks and shovels, began to labor among the rocks on the shore The men worked steadily for some time, then finally returned in a body to the ship, which weighed anchor and left the bay as quietly as she had entered On the morrow the folk, among whom the news of the incident had spread with astonishing rapidity,

visited the spot where the crew of the goelette had been seen They found nothing save a shallow, square hole, apparently freshly dug, the shape of which indicated that an iron box, or something of a similar nature, had once reposed there Letemplier, the light-housekeeper, believes that the goelette was out of Newfoundland

Dick Schatler, half-breed Eskimo guide, and pilot of the government-leased yacht "Hope," relates a somewhat similar tale concerning gold buried in the hills of Mistanoque Through some unknown source the news of a supposed treasure reached Schatler's ears, and he confided his information in the captain and crew Certain elements of verisimilitude seemingly attended the story, and the curiosity of the captain and the others was immediately stimulated Equipped with iron bars, picks, and shovels, and guided by Schatler, they tracked into the mountains When they arrived at the scene of their quest, they found only a deep, square hole from which ostensibly a large box had been lifted, and not very long prior to their appearance, since the earth showed unmistakeable evidence of recent digging

There is sufficient evidence that the folk believe in dreams During the month of September I lived alternately in a Blanc Sablon fisherman's hut and in the somewhat modernized house of the Lighthousekeeper on Greenly Island In both places I related to the folk certain dreams that I had while living in Blanc Sablon I mentioned seeing in my dream the yellow-hued face of a man whose eyes were very dark Both the wife of the Lighthousekeeper and the wife of the fisherman were certain that this apparition was the soul of Mary Lavallée's father long since dead

Following the excavation of one of the victims of the wreck of a square-rigger which wreck occurred some seventy-five years ago, the remains—cranium, pelvis and femur—were transferred by us in a box and taken to our temporary quarters on Greenly Island Lighthouse [2] The family of the Lighthousekeeper would not come near the box in which the bones were deposited, furthermore we had to take this box away and store it in the sledhouse, i e, away from the main living quarters The folk regarded both the contents of the box and us, who were responsible for this act, with awe and fear

The beliefs of the Blanc Sablonites are deducible not only from their more obvious forms of belief—which concern primarily the

[2] See Chapter V, p 66, for other details

church and their religious scruples such as an aversion toward working on Sunday, but also "lights" seen around places where "gold lies buried," or where the "dead Jerseymen lie buried"—also from their attitudes toward certain categories such as *Education* and *Childbearing* The disinterest in which education is held generally by the folk and their offspring has already been partly treated in a preceding chapter, and will be covered in greater detail in a following chapter [3]

In childbearing the pattern handed down from family to family by social inheritance presupposes from six to nine children per family, or even more In Blanc Sablon the average is eight The belief that a woman's role in life necessarily includes a multiplicity of pregnancies is fixed and immutable No native, whether man or woman, questions, or even thinks of questioning, the rectitude of such a time-honored canon If some inquisitive outsider asks why it persists, or is allowed to persist, the answer he receives, accompanied by a shrug of the shoulders on the part of the person interrogated, is that it was so long before his time, and that his parents came themselves from large families, as likewise all his relatives, sibmen, and friends Even premature aging and clumsy, inefficient midwifery—with subsequent gynecologic complications —are looked upon or understood as necessary, inevitable phenomena of a woman's lot Seldom is there any deviation noticeable in the attitudes even of the women themselves Those who do not accept passively the pre-arranged ordeal of excessive childbirths, and who furthermore seek medical advice and treatment, are to be found only in communities such as Longue Pointe And here such attitudes are the result generally of information obtained from and contact with western Quebec, and in themselves are a reflection of the attitude in dealing with such situations [4]

Religious belief occasionally comes to grief, however, on the shoals of economics It is, above all, the exceptions to the common rule which provide ample grounds for argument, for strict adherence to the observances and ritual of the Sabbath day has too-numerous illustrations all over the ecumenical world to require additional mention in this study Particularly by the Labrador parishes are the religious mores concerning the keeping of the Lord's Day "holy" likewise firmly established "The steeple of

[3] See Chapter VII, pp 105 and 115
[4] See Chapter VII, loc cit

the church . marks the centre of each French Canadian parish It was under the guardian care of the church that the faith of the early settlers in this country was maintained intact, just as it has been in the shadow of the churches that the French Canadian soul has preserved all its pristine freshness Symbol of the strength of rural faith *le clocher* (the spire) dominates parish life with all the grandeur of religious faith "[5]

Any deviations from the old established rules are to be considered then as imposed, and by economic exigency—in the instance of the Blanc Sablonites a sort of *force majeur* [6] We shall adduce as but one example the "making" of fish, which takes place during the month of August, sometimes, however, extending into September and even October, and depends, as we have already pointed out, on the weather, the magnitude of the catch, and the number of participants Should a succession of rainy days preclude any possibility of discharging this operation, and the danger of rotting fish threaten the community, any Sunday on which the sun shines provides an opportunity to catch up, and the breaking of the Sabbath naturally follows Not infrequently, however, even the imminence of economic distress is not allowed to interfere with orthodox ritual "At Batteau a wrinkled, gnarled, old *Liveyere* was swiftly but uncomplainingly mending his nets, missing a day's fishing that meant so much to him The previous Sunday he had been content to sit on the rocky shore and watch the storm tear his nets, willing to lose his all rather than work that day to save them "[7]

[5]Georges Bouchard, *Other Days Other Ways* (Montreal, 1928), pp 31-33
[6]See Chapter VII, p 89
[7]Lacey Amy, "Labrador, Home of the Iceberg," *Travel Magazine* (May, 1916), p 27

CHAPTER VII

It is quite obvious that the amount of fish caught, salted, cleaned, and dried by far exceeds the annual amount of food consumed by the community I have indicated elsewhere that the usual amount of codfish accumulated by each family unit is in the neighborhood of three hundred to three hundred and fifty quintals (dry) or 33,600 to 39,200 pounds If we deduct from this the amount of codfish consumed by each family annually (each small family averaging about six members), we have still between 25,000 to 30,000 pounds of dried fish left to be marketed or exchanged for other foods and materials not produced by the folk This is merely an assumption, for the daily menu of each family consists mainly of fish, the dish is usually augmented by dried salted meats, bread, tea, and molasses, all of these articles obtainable only through the medium of the Hudson's Bay Company or the L T Blais Company, Ltd

Neither the Hudson's Bay Company[1] nor the L T Blais Company, Ltd.—the two trade monopolies operating in and around Blanc Sablon—pays cash for codfish, salmon, or furs The fishermen, trappers, and hunters, after bringing in their products receive their remuneration in merchandise, most of which is of an edible nature The two companies—the only outlet the folk have for their wares—profit both ways, therefore, first, on the goods they receive in trade and at figures dictated by themselves, and second, on the merchandise they give out in trade and upon which they place their own values Each of these is naturally to the detriment of the folk, who nevertheless, being almost entirely helpless, and with no way of ordering their commercial affairs, are forced to submit to such terms

The Hudson's Bay Company particularly is in the foreground of this rather unique system of economic subordination When the folk trade their fish, or their sealskins, or their furs to this Gar-

[1]See *History of Hudson's Bay Company* pp 91-93 of this chapter

gantuan concern they are credited with a certain amount of merchandise in trade No receipt or paper of any kind is given them, the accounts are kept by the company, and all business *must* be transacted upon a trade basis The edible products of the company's merchandise is made up usually of salt pork, salt beef, molasses, flour, and potatoes—the last of which are small, dried up, poor in quality, and given only in restricted amounts Sometimes, as an especial concession, a few dried fruits are meted out—although this, one learns, is rarely manifest except on festive occasions, which are few indeed

Nor do the inconveniences the folk suffer at the hands of the Hudson's Bay Company stop here One Blanc Sablonite fisherman, for example, among other necessities before winter set in, needed particularly a new axe He was to obtain one through the Hudson's Bay Company on the first arrival of the "Sable I" after his order had gone through to the company's headquarters in the west His requisition was neglected; and he was kept waiting for his axe until well after the Easter holidays In the meantime, the snows had set in, and pineroot-gathering had begun The fisherman had no axe, and had to go to extreme trouble to borrow one for the season

The Hudson's Bay Company's methods of dealing with the natives of isolated communities such as Blanc Sablon are not the same to-day as they were two hundred and sixty years ago Then, this company was a harbinger and pioneer of civilization, headed by indefatigable men who were eventually to carve a new empire out of the as yet uncharted wilderness, and it was only after much effort and self-abnegation that the territory around Hudson's Bay and the Labrador and lower Laurentian coasts was made habitable To-day, both the early pioneering spirit and the unstinting altruism are little better than myths, the organization, however, still continues to operate under the legend, "Hudson's Bay Company, Incorporated 2nd May, 1670," profitting, to a certain extent, by a glamour and a glory wholly past and dead Furthermore, in the company's present-day commercial dealings with the fisherfolk of Labrador, its techniques and ethics have most certainly changed, and hundreds of families of fishermen are held consequently, without any apparent possibility of a future alleviation of their lots, in a sort of economic peonage

We have innumerable substantial illustrations of this relationship

Several have already been cited Again, when the folk "buy" their summer supplies, paying with quintals[2] of fish, or with furs or sealskins, they order at the same time their supplies for winter, thus seldom or never getting out of debt Further, the products they receive in exchange for their wares are generally third rate,—as, for example, the canned "ends" of fruit,—and these products sell at a considerably higher price than the A-1 article purchased farther west in the larger cities [3]

The price obtained for cod-oil (that is, cod-liver oil) ranges generally from fifteen cents to forty cents a gallon In 1933, however, the folk were paid only ten cents Dried fish per quintal in the same year averaged about two dollars and twenty-five cents In 1934 the price had jumped to a "high" of three dollars It must be reiterated at this juncture that cash money never passes through the fisherfolk's hands, the foregoing remunerations were given out in trade equivalents only

One case on record at Blanc Sablon holds an especial interest in connexion with the foregoing During one fishing season, when the cod traded to the Hudson's Bay Company brought two dollars a quintal, the same fish, taken by boat to Boston, sold at a *low* price of eighteen dollars per quintal The man concerned, named Lancaster, came originally from Newfoundland, and is at present a "shareman" working for the Hudson's Bay Company at Blanc Sablon The Newfoundlanders—or "foreigners"—who fish in the neighboring waters, and by trawl rather than by net, since they are forbidden the latter, take their fish generally into St Johns, Newfoundland, whence it is conveyed to other markets These men usually double what the Blanc Sablonites make

The following insert lists the prices of edible commodities carried by the Hudson's Bay Company and traded to the fisherfolk for their wares ·

Beans	$ 60 per gallon
Beef .	$18 00 to $20 00 per barrel (200 pounds, salted)
Butter	$25 00 per box (56 pounds)
Cheese (Canadian)	$ 25 to $ 30 per pound
Cocoa	$ 60 per pound
Coffee	$ 25 per half-pound

[2]One quintal of dried—or cured—fish weighs one hundred and twelve pounds

[3]I have purposely taken with me on this trip a man who was for a long time employed by one of the large American grocery chain store corporations and therefore able to evaluate quality and quantity of such goods as handled by the Hudson's Bay Company

Condensed Milk	$ 25 per tin
Evaporated Milk	$ 25 for two tins
Flour	$ 6 75 to $7 50 per bag
Lard	$ 4 00 per 20 pound bucket
Peas	$ 60 per gallon
Pork	$28 00 to $30 00 per barrel (200 pounds, salted)
Potatoes	$ 1 15 for about 80 pounds
	$ 2 35 per barrel
Rice	$ 75 per pound
Sugar	$ 7 50 per 100 pound sack
Tea	$ 60 per pound
Tomatoes	$.25 for two tins

Fresh beef may be obtained through the company also, but only in winter, at from eighteen to twenty cents a pound

"Sharemen" are either resident or non-resident fishermen employed directly by the Hudson's Bay Company These men are furnished with a location upon which to fish and with fishing-gear, the latter of which consists of the familiar trap-net that has been described elsewhere The men also need, and are supplied with, splitting-knives and puncheons, as well as prongs with which to handle the fish after they have been caught The company furnishes likewise a wharf and a "stage" in which to store the salted catch In return for all this the men are required to turn ower twenty out of every hundred quintals of fish they have salted and cured Aside from this we must take into consideration furthermore the boats used by the "sharemen" The company is supposed to supply these as a matter of course, and does so, but a stiff rental fee is demanded for every boat used, and the "sharemen" must pay for the gasoline, which they are supposed to buy from the company at the current price

One of the most important commodities used by the fishermen is salt The government metes out several bags of this indispensable ware to each family of fisherfolk free of charge to encourage the fishing industry, the folk, however, have to pay freightage on it, since it is conveyed to them through the medium of the Clarke Steamship Company This company may be classed with the others already mentioned, for the salt, passed into its care by the government, acts rather as ballast for the vessels that carry it than as extra freight But the amount of "free" salt received by the folk—usually in three shipments annually—is variable and limited.

The folk have to turn, consequently, to the Hudson's Bay Company To the Clarke Steamship Company, then, the folk pay twenty-five cents as carrying charges on every one hundred and sixty pound bag of government salt they receive, and to the Hudson's Bay Company, two dollars and seventy-five cents per hogshead—the equivalent of four bags

The Blanc Sablonites are forced into a difficult position here, as are also the men fishing for the company Inasmuch as all work upon a close margin of profit, they cannot risk having any of their fish spoil for lack of salt Accordingly, they salt their catch heavily to save it from "maggots" These larvæ infest all fish which are left overlong in a "green" state Hence, the necessity for heavy salting, which, while it lowers the grade of the fish, yet, keeps it in a comparatively sanitary condition This grade of fish brings, of course, a lower price than fish that have been less heavily salted. It is easy to see the dilemma into which the folk are placed, for the more salt they use, the less valuable their catch becomes, while their indebtedness to the Hudson's Bay Company increases.

It is only natural, of course, that those men who live upon the Hudson's Bay Company's locations and fish for the company should be expected to buy food and other necessaries from their employers That these men, after turning over to the company its share of their takings are generally left indebted to the company may or may not have a significance Another salient fact concerning this relationship is that although the "sharemen" pay for the usage of equipment supposed to be new when it is turned over to them, and are required to keep such in repair while it is in use, the equipment they actually get is rarely new Most of the gear on the Hudson's Bay Company location is old and rotted The men consequently spend more time in repairing nets than in using them,—and it is common knowledge in Blanc Sablon that several nets could be produced in the time it takes to repair an old one It is a fact, further, that most of the buildings and wharves in use are falling apart with age The long wharf on Greenly Island, which the Hudson's Bay Company leases under contract to the government as unloading facilitation for lighthouse supply boats, is almost on the verge of collapsing This is especially apparent at high tide on a windy day

The Hudson's Bay Company, with large branch offices and factories in cities such as Montreal, is in a position to supply its

dependents with virtually everything they need from absolute necessities to luxuries Those articles that are most often needed and purchased by the natives of the North Shore settlements are, if possible, always kept in stock at the various posts All other articles, if their turn-overs are too infrequent, may be obtained through the company from its main office at Montreal In addition to a rather complete stock of hardware the company carries also a full line of marine motor parts, and anything that may be required in the way of fishing implements—as, for example, ·trap-nets, jiggers, twine, hooks, rope, etc The following classification will give a fairly adequate appreciation of Hudson's Bay Company inventory hardware, canned goods, condiments, spices, beverages, grains, meals, soaps, cleaners, and medicines The following insert lists those articles, obtainable through the Hudson's Bay Company, that are most in use in the homes of the fisherfolk

funnels	oilskins	safety-pins
buckets	mattresses	shoes
dippers	duck (for sails)	shoe-strings
pots and pans	thread	ties
dress materials	twine	paper (writing)
woolens	ribbon	pens, pencils
socks	mittens	ink
overalls	work-gloves	tools

Thus it will be readily seen how the Hudson's Bay Company manages to keep persistently under its thumb, so to speak, those whom it exploits Having nowhere else to turn for their needs, and no other outlet for their own wares, the folk are forced to acquiesce It is true that the L. T Blais Company, Ltd operates along the North Shore also, carrying stock similar to that of the Hudson's Bay Company, and that the influence of the mail-order houses may be felt wherever there is communication, but the Hudson's Bay Company offers stiff opposition and competition and its star is at present in the ascendant.

There are certain articles, indispensable to folk such as the Blanc Sablonites, which, because of their expensiveness, are not possessed by every family It is sufficient, then, under circumstances such as this, if only one member own what is needed; and borrowing, consequently, becomes very common and accepted as inevitable "Dissents, sulkiness, even quarrels, do not preclude the asking for and the tendering of certain urgent services Thus relations

between neighbors are as close as between kinsmen and as intimate, and perhaps even more extensive and more useful "[4]

THE HUDSON'S BAY COMPANY

The following has been condensed from *A Brief History*, a small brochure written by Robert Watson for the Hudson's Bay Company

That period of British history which embraces the reign of King Charles the Second was one of gallant cavaliers, courtly manners, daring deeds and successful enterprises The nobles and gentlemen who attended the gay courts were ever ready to lend their sword-arms, their influence and their fortunes to any projects that might give promise of exciting adventure combined with financial gain

It was in such times that two French adventurers, Pierre Radisson and Medard Chouart des Groseilliers, angry at the treatment they had received from their countrymen, decided to try to arouse British interest in their furtrading schemes Groseilliers went to Boston to interview the British colonists there He caught their interest, but failed to raise the funds necessary to equip his expedition He became acquainted with a clever seafaring man, one Zachary Gillam, who was captain and part owner of a small fifty-ton ketch, the *Nonsuch* Gillam was impressed and offered his services This resulted in both Radisson and Groseilliers sailing with Gillam on the *Nonsuch* for Plymouth, England, in June, 1665

Backed by Prince Rupert, the Earl of Cravan and Mr Hayes, two ships were secured by the merchant-adventurers—the *Eaglet* and the *Nonsuch* These set sail from Gravesend in June, 1668 The *Eaglet* was unsuccessful and had to turn back, but the ketch, *Nonsuch*, reached Hudson Strait on August 4th, 1668, continued on into Hudson's Bay, and anchored in a river on the southeast corner of James Bay The men set to work immediately to build the first fort, which was of logs and given the name "Fort Charles"

The following year Groseilliers and Captain Gillam returned to England with the *Nonsuch*, which was loaded with valuable furs

This successful venture led directly to the formation of "The Governor and Company of Adventurers of England trading into Hudson's Bay.

Prince Rupert, the grandson of King James the First of England, became the first to guide the destinies of the Company It was to him that Groseilliers had gone seeking support for his project, and it was through his influence that the famous Charter was granted to the Company of seventeen nobles and gentlemen The Royal Charter was granted by King Charles the Second on May 2nd, 1670

The heraldic coat-of-arms or armorial bearings of the Company consists of

Shield—Argent, a cross gules between four beavers sable

[4] Georges Bouchard, *Other Days Other Ways*, tr by Alan Hunt Holley from *Vieilles Choses Vieilles Gens* (Montreal, 1928), p 136

Crest—Upon a cap of maintenance gules turned up ermine, a fox sejant proper

Supporters—On either side an elk proper

The Hudson's Bay Company motto, *Pro Pelle Cutem*, is supposed to signify 'skin for skin'

It is presumed that the first furs received in London were sold privately In January, 1672, at Garraway's Coffee House in London, the first public sale of furs took place

Prince Rupert died on November 29th, 1682 James, Duke of York, succeeded him as Governor in 1683

(From 1684 on, the history of this company is marked by an almost continual expansion Several other forts were established, and the confines of the company pushed farther and farther west and northwest Henry Kelsey in 1690 and 1691 made several reputable inland journeys He was the earliest known explorer of the Canadian northwest In 1771 Samuel Hearne reached the Arctic Ocean from the interior by ascending the Coppermine River)

When the success of the fur enterprise got noised abroad, Hudson's Bay became the rendezvous of other adventurers, all in search of easy and quick fortunes These quests finally resolved themselves into a national tussle between the French and the British for supremacy in Canada Several decisive victories on the parts of the French almost paralyzed the Company

(At the beginning of the nineteenth century the Company held in control virtually all of Canada from coast to coast A rival company, however, entered the field

For years there had been bitter trade opposition and much personal animus between the men of the North-West Company and the men of the Hudson's Bay Company The former was a combination of Montreal furtraders, formed in 1783-84, they made it known that they intended to drive the settlers out. Hostile acts led eventually to disasters But in 1821 the amalgamation of both companies took place)

The Hudson's Bay Company went on pursuing its trading ever farther west and north, establishing posts in British Columbia and in what are now the states of Washington and Oregon

Finally, to enable the newly-developed Provinces of Canada to become federated into a nation under the British flag, the Company relinquished to Queen Victoria its governing rights which it had enjoyed under the Royal Charter of 1670

By the Deed of Surrender, 1869 70, the Company agreed to select certain parcels of land around its trading-posts, and to accept one twentieth of the land to be set out for settlements

About 1910 the Company commenced the building of large stores in western Canada

The fur-trade, which was the first industry of this country, is still pursued in the less accessible parts, where wild life flourishes

The old Hudson's Bay Company perpetually renews its youth, by continuing, true to its name, adventure in many activities, especially those connected with furtrading, land settlement and stores

THE CITY AND THE FACTORY

At this point it will be best to indicate as briefly as possible what is meant by city culture It will be noted that the factory is an integral part where mass production, distribution, etc form distinct technologic sub-systems Some of the features of this huge aggregate and its complexity should be interpolated here before we touch upon its bearing upon an isolated community such as Blanc Sablon, for it is precisely this system which has encroached upon the folk system, becoming a part of it

It is our purpose also to point out the indispensable traits of this modern (western) urban system—the apparatus of urban living—and to build up as complete a picture as is possible of folk Blanc Sablon and the extent of its isolation We shall endeavor to show also the extent to which Blanc Sablon has been influenced or permeated by urban technical traits Within the domain of the city proper such traits or complexes when itemized are multiple and almost beyond calculation The majority of them, however, are in the main chiefly mechanical devices made available for the comfort and convenience of everyday life—or, in especial, of everyday urban life, which is, perhaps, more highly and intricately developed in America than elsewhere

Let us turn first to the house We may group a great number of mechanical conveniences under two headings, first, those which arise from or are necessitated by the facilities of modern sanitation, and second, those that are brought to the fore by the many usages to which electricity has been put Of the former, for exemple, we have sanitary plumbing, with running water, bathtubs, showers, toilet systems, sinks, systems for the immediate disposal of sewage, etc In conjunction with the latter we have facilities for lighting, heating, air conditioning, refrigeration, and the like—and a host of contrivances either attendant upon these or designed expressly to eliminate drudgery from certain domestic activities such as diswashing, ironing, cooking, carpet sweeping,

and the washing of clothes The electric fan, the radio—items of this nature contribute toward comfort But even here we cannot stop. Gadgets are being flung on the market daily, and although a good percentage of them are of an ephemeral nature, and consequently of little enduring value, not a few of them with time actually become necessities and are thereupon incorporated definitely into the mosaic-like pattern of the city Among these are to be found electric exercisers, hair dryers, sun lamps, infra-red lamps, and so forth

Aside from the two important foregoing categories we have also central heating systems—quite a few of which are controlled by thermostat devices—and gas, for heating or lighting or both The telephone plays an important role also Cooking facilities become more complex as each day passes by, along with which we have a great variety of fresh foods made available by modern means of transportation "Among all peoples of the world," observes one American who has spent the greater part of his time abroad, "the average American is the better nourished, has cleaner and better ventilated houses, is the best dressed, has a higher standard of material comfort, more individual freedom in every way, and is, it seems the happiest "[5]

When we turn to the city, we encounter an almost endless variety of traits Certain factors, certain demands, certain exigencies cropping out of industrialism call for our consideration first And first and foremost of these is transportation—whether by land, water, or air, and whether made possible by gasoline, steam, oil, or electricity—along with concomitant highway and traffic systems, and river, harbor, and airport development Under industrialism we have also highly mechanized manufacturing concerns such as factories, mills, shops, and the like Marketing is likewise an important element, as are also the complexities of the clothing and furniture industries—with the facilities for procuring them speedily and in great masses, and all the modern industrial and commercial ramifications inclusive of the highly organized advertising systems The newspaper and the radio—avenues for expressed public opinion—come next with their indirect and complex control of industry

Hospitalization facilities, with elaborate surgical aid, homes for

[5]Webb Miller, "My Country 'Tis of Thee," *Collier's, The National Weekly* (August, 1934)

convalescents, etc [6] all this stands somewhat apart in a class by itself, and, from one point of view, as a comparatively recent and modern development, and with this, a growing cognizance on the part of the general public of a need for such facilities That too many people in the past have ignored or minimized the problem is attested by the early age at which the majority of our past generations died The average life-expectation at birth in 1834 was less than forty years, in 1934, it was fifty-seven years Furthermore, pain has been reduced to a bearable minimum, for, in the last decade, medical knowledge has made immense strides in the *safe*-giving of anæsthesia and analgesia e g to ease labor pains

Another categorization gives us complexes such as public utilities,—concerns engaged in banking, insurance, and the like—all interlocking with the other traits of the city system

Still another, and large, categorization embraces an elaborate legislative, administrative (executive), and judicial complex—with all its numberless associated traits Under this we find, for example, the control of monopolies, the creation of standards of conduct, communal sanitation enforced by law, etc In the latter instance we have sanitary zoning and standardized housing, along with the control of sewage, and the disposal of soot, smoke, and filth Under this heading comes also the control of prepared and vended food stuffs and materials of a perishable nature through abbatoirs, etc Communicable and other diseases are controlled through various preventive measures such as vaccination and immunization, through certain hygienic and sanitary legislations, or through the results of constant and vigilant research work An elaborate system of enforced and standardized mass education obtains here likewise, contributing to which are such items as repeated and authoritative instruction to adults and children, public parks and playgrounds, and encouragement in sports and athletics Finally, we have a public servant system—beginning with the city government and running on down through the police and fire departments, etc —all maintained by taxes, and upon which hinges an elaborate system of party politics

A final category gives us those essential factors which contribute indirectly to the spiritual well-being of city people—such as architecturally beautiful and inspiring places of worship, art in-

[6] Oscar Waldemar Junek, "More Homes for Convalescents," *The Modern Hospital*, Vol XXXVII, No 1 (July, 1931)

stitutions, museums, parks, music halls, etc Inclusive here also is the beautification of the city proper

These are the main traits of the urban pattern A few traits—public charities, vice control, the prevention of crime, and such—these are self-inclusive, but belong more to the category of social disorganization

HOW THE CITY SYSTEM REACHES AN ISOLATED COMMUNITY

In our attempt to follow the somewhat erratic course of civilizatory diffusion from the western limits of the province of Quebec it is necessary, first of all, to point out that the last five hundred miles, between Sept Iles and Blanc Sablon and the southeast portion of Labrador, have no roads whatsoever, that communication by water is possible only in late spring, summer, and early fall, and that the dog-teams that are used during the winter for travel over the frozen St. Lawrence are able to make short trips only, not exceeding one hundred miles While in summer and early fall—that is, between June 20 and November 15—the vessels of the Clarke Steamship Company, Limited, of Quebec, and the Coyle Steamship Company, of St. Johns, Newfoundland, touch Blanc Sablon once every fortnight bringing freight and mail, on the other hand during the long winter—that is, between December 1 and May 1—the dog-drawn *cométiques* carry mail or freight overland in relays once a month only from Natashquan four hundred miles away This latter medium of communication and transportation is slow and uncertain indeed, for in this region of restricted opportunity, where most of the conditions that make life easier elsewhere are lacking, where the soil is infertile and the amount of habitable land small, the prevailing inclement weather, the rugged and stony surface, and the forbidding coastline tend to oppose all travel and make access difficult to an extreme *Between April 15 and June 10 there is no communication whatsoever to and from Blanc Sablon, for during this time the ice begins to break up, making travel dangerous for dog-team and steamboat alike*

Again, we have only a single telegraph wire contacting this isolated region, it functions, however, at all times This urban element spans a stretch of fifteen hundred miles, from western

Quebec to Forteau, in the Newfoundland portion of Labrador In order to gain a cursory appreciation of the terrain over which the wire is spanned, I walked the last one hundred miles with a telegraph repair gang that is engaged every summer to repair damages to the wire and equipment. We started out from the St Augustin archipelago, following the line to Northeast Bay, Juniper Cove, Coxipi River, Petite Rivière, Spoon Cove, Cocomistoque, Rivière Shecatica, Mistanoque, Napetipi, Lobster Bay, Baie des Rochers, and Baie des Esquimaux. The wire, through this particular section, passes over places almost inaccessible save by foot and through tangles of trackless mountain shrubbery. Between the villages not a soul was to be met, and it seemed a waste of time and effort to link by wire all these small communities—particularly those such as Spoon Cove and Baie des Rochers—which consist of two or three families only, and which, furthermore, use the telegraph but seldom

A definite, continuous isolation prevails in such places In St Augustin, however, is located a Hudson's Bay Company post which operates all the year round, and a salmon cannery which functions during the salmon season, that is, from June 15 to August 1.

The government telegraph line was set up because of this isolation It serves not only the families that live in the territory through which the wire passes but also other families many miles distant from the stations Usually one person in each community is trained by the government to operate the instrument and to test the line daily, but the messages that are actually sent are very few and far between, and are generally for immediate medical aid

Before the wire was laid out thirty-one years ago, news was communicated by word of mouth directly or by the "grapevine" method When the wire was finally strung, and M Alfred Cormier—who was then the first operator at Romaine—gave out the news of the Boer War as it was coming in, the folk were incredulous and refused to believe that a device such as a meagre, tenuous wire stretched over wooden poles could possibly be responsible. Later they attributed its magic to the devil, and fulminated heatedly against it, but gradually, however, they became used to it, until to-day they accept it as casually as they accept the gadgets on their boats.

In passing, one may say that the Hudson's Bay Company's post

at St. Augustin is slowly feeding urban ways to the entire archipelago, even as the post established at Blanc Sablon feeds it to Blanc Sablon, Longue Pointe, Brador, and other small communities in the neighborhood of Blanc Sablon The Hudson's Bay Company diffuses certain western urban traits and complexes by trading both with the white and the Indian population This company may be said also to create new needs and new desires by the introduction of machine-made goods, food articles, and the like

The following chart is an attempt to show briefly the extent of civilizatory "diffusion" from the city of Quebec throughout Labrador, stressing certain traits and culture-complexes only, and contrasting the city and folk patterns *It will be noticed that the urban traits and trait-complexes contained in this table have not been chosen at random They are essentially typical of the full western urban pattern Their absence signifies also the absence of the western city system* We may, therefore, measure the folk people's acceptance of such a pattern by the totality of acceptance or partial acceptance of such traits and their incorporation into the local cultural patterns It is to be noticed particularly that the focal point of "diffusion"—the city of Quebec—possesses all of the indispensable western traits Our next civilizatory milestone, so to speak, is the Hudson's Bay Company post at St Augustin, roughly about seven hundred and eighty miles north by east from Quebec There we find that only approximately thirty-eight percent of the total pattern is incorporated into the local pattern, thanks mainly to the trading activities of the Hudson's Bay Company At Blanc Sablon proper (about eight hundred and sixty miles from Quebec) this focal city system influence thins out to about twenty percent [7]

Let us turn now to Labrador, and the subject in hand Although Blanc Sablon contacts the aforementioned modern urban factors and ways *directly* (for example, through two steamship lines, the Hudson's Bay Company, Eaton and Company, Toronto, the L T Blais Company, Limited, the Acadia Marine Engine Company, Limited, Lunenberg, Nova Scotia, and through post office and telegraph facilities) it has still to be affected by them to any great extent, and is certainly less affected than is its neighbor, Longue Pointe, which, as we have already brought out, yet depends almost entirely upon Blanc Sablon for its reception of urban traits

[7] Note the table on p 99

For one thing, Longue Pointe has a church and a *curé*, and the church functions fully at all times The *curé's* dwelling is quite conspicuous, and vies in its architecture with the dwelling of the local Revenue Collector Besides these two notables—namely, the *curé* an the Revenue Collector—there are others here who enjoy

Indispensable Traits Serving as Indices of Western Civilization	Quebec	H B C * at St Augustin	Longue Pointe	H B C * at Blanc Sablon	Blanc Sablon
Steam, Electricity, and Machine-Made Goods	10%	Part 5% Pattern	Part 5% Pattern	Part 5% Pattern	Part 2 5% Pattern
Schooling—Enforced by Law	10%	Part 5% Time	Part 5% Time	Absent 0%	Absent 0%
Voting and Codified Law	10%	Absent 0%	Absent 0%	Absent 0%	Absent 0%
Sanitation and Hygiene	10%	Part 5% Pattern	Part 5% Pattern	Part 5% Pattern	Absent 0%
Banking and Insurance	10%	Absent 0%	Absent 0%	Absent 0%	Absent 0%
COMMUNICATION					
Telephone and Telegraph	10%	Telegraph Pres 5%	Telegraph Pres 5%	Absent 0%	Telegraph Pres 5%
Post-Office	10%	No Money Orders 8%	Carrier Only 5%	Absent 0%	No Money Orders 8%
Newspapers	10%	Absent 0%	Absent 0%	Absent 0%	Absent 0%
Radio	10%	At H B C Post 5%	Absent 0%	H B C Only 5%	Absent 0%
Railroad and Steamship Service	10%	Steamship Part 5% Time	Absent 0%	Steamship Part 5% Time	Steamship Part 5% Time
Civilizatory Diffusion Expressed in Percentages	100%	38%	25%	20%	20 5%

*Hudson's Bay Company

a considerable status also—and a status, furthermore, which is respected and recognized even outside of Longue Pointe These are the Government Fisheries Inspector, and his two assistants, a government telegrapher, and a crew of repair men employed by the government It may be well to point out that the joint attitudes and prestige of these man have given a certain direction to the

development of Longue Pointe which is not to be found as coming from those of status in Blanc Sablon, for the other residents of Longue Pointe have a tendency to emulate these persons in matters of dress and speech, and eventually turn their attentions toward and become used to other city ways such as a desire for a gramophone. Again, the conditions resulting in Longue Pointe from infrequent but more or less regular contacts with modern ways may be observed in the organization of the community, its buildings—particularly the church and the dwelling of the *curé*—its boats, and the presence of one good radio, three phonographs, two inside urinals, and one inside bathroom

Many questions may be raised by the foregoing facts as to why Blanc Sablon remains comparatively unaffected by modern city ways It is true that Blanc Sablon lies directly in the path of communication with the cities of the west But she is the transmitter only and not the receptacle of these ways Perhaps the reason for this lies in the fact that she does not count amount her resident *habitants* true representatives of the city type The type that she does possess is overwhelmingly folk—that is, it is composed solely of primary groups occupied only with the satisfying of the basic human needs for food, shelter, clothing, and the like, possessing no literature (or any printed words), no formal education legally enforced, and, in lieu of balloting leading to codification of local laws, strongly operative local customs and mores which are utilized for social control. And yet both the city and the folk systems are operating here jointly, that they are coexistent and interfused almost beyond recognition, but its neighbor, Longue Pointe, seems to be permeated or affected by the urban system more steadily The urban pattern seems to have "taken" more readily, not only because Longue Pointe numbers among her population a *curé*, a Revenue Collector, three Fisheries Inspectors, one Game-Bird Warden, two merchants, and a skilled mechanic, but because these men have at one time or another visited Quebec, to say nothing of those lesser denizens of "civilized" typology who endeavor to acculturate themselves more and more to the patterns of the city.

If we view the *habitants* of Blanc Sablon carefully, we may notice here and there certain attitudes coming to light one by one, and these may be considered as indicative of the germination of the city type of needs First, we have the attitude of amazement

and admiration, as instanced by the Blanc Sablonites in the presence of an aeroplane, or certain mechanical gadgets, or factory-made goods such as clothes, shoes, portable typewriters, fountain pens, canned food-stuffs, newly-introduced dental plates and bridge work, and so forth Some of these have been seen in Longue Pointe, others *in loco* or in the possession of some person passing through the village Some are procurable at the Hudson's Bay Company post, others through the L T Blais Company, or through Eaton's at Toronto, by catalogue The folk are able to recognize perfection and fineness of workmanship in factory-made goods, and admire them *It is this perfection and fineness, as well as utility (although utility is sometimes ignored completely), that may be responsible for their ready acceptance and incorporation into the local cultural pattern* Out of this welter of oddities and novelties there are certain articles that eventually begin to "take" —as motors for boats, and canned goods The latter of these seems to have encountered little trouble in their introduction Thus canned corned beef and canned tomatoes are considered great delicacies by the Blanc Sablonites, even as safety-razors and blades are felt to be desirable and worth possessing Cocoa in tins comes under this heading also, and may be seen in several homes of both sibs There is even one radio set and a small phonograph in the community, although these belong to a former Hudson's Bay Company employee and a strongly marginalized sibman respectively Certain other articles such as thermos flasks and fountain pens—articles to be found in the catalogues that occasionally find their way by boat to Blanc Sablon—are desired also by the natives. All of this may be laid at the door of admiration for the unusual, which in Blanc Sablon is the *modern*

In Longue Pointe are several men who have had all their teeth extracted and their natural dentures replaced by plates In Blanc Sablon, however, opinion on this innovation is divided Some desire plates, others not. But perhaps it is the price of the plates alone which is prohibitive, since most of the folk have interstitial gingivitis and caries. Were it not for the expense of such an article, therefore, the attitude of the folk toward it would probably undergo a rapid and unobstructed change.

The wish for self-maintenance leads to a strange culture pattern, its *complete* picture, showing all basic complexes and traits, and all importations and acculturations to them, is shown in the culture

pattern accretion chart which is to follow It is certain, however, that those devices that contribute directly to the self-maintenance of the folk "take" more readily than items generally considered luxuries *Thus, the one-cylinder type of inboard motor, made in Lunenberg, Nova Scotia, has become an indispensable part of the local pattern* No fisherman would think of doing his work without it The associated behaviour pattern built around this "make and break" type of engine has likewise become a part of the new pattern It is, consequently, nothing unusual to hear a Blanc Sablon fisherman talk casually and informatively about asbestos packing, gaskets, and the like, or see him busy overhauling certain parts of the mechanism of his boat

Although many Blanc Sablonites refer to gasoline as "oil," they all have a rather intimate knowledge of the principle of internal combustion, and words such as horse-power, battery, fly-wheel, piston, drive-shaft, packing-box, pin, etc, are integrals of their daily vocabulary

The increased mobility of some of the members of the two communities—Blanc Sablon and Longue Pointe—has added to the facility with which entirely new categories have been taken over Necessity, also, has made most of these people conform to this small phasis of the main mechanical complex Most of them know how to dismantle a motor, clean its one cylinder, readjust the piston, work with dry cell batteries, replace an asbestos gasket, etc *Thus the associated behaviour pattern which has been built gradually around this one, almost indispensable, article of the modern city system, the one-cylinder motor boat, has become a part of the culture of this isolated folk* Moreover, this new trait has been passed on to the children, who are as casual and presuppository in their handling of gasoline engines as many city children are in their attitude toward automobiles and even aeroplanes

We come now to the chart showing the culture pattern accretion of Blanc Sablon By actual contrast with the very highly concentrated city pattern, and viewed in the light of our definition of a folk,[8] Blanc Sablon will be seen to lack some of the composing complexes of the main pattern called city system—namely, highly developed mechanical invention, universal suffrage, legally enforced mass education, modern sanitation, and hygiene On the other hand, everyone of these urban features has a counter part

of its own and it is this locally developed counterpart that controls the local situation The chart shows, further, large gaps in the culture accretion, either in the absences of certain requisitions of city, or in the acceptance of the smaller traits only of the main pattern

BLANC SABLON CULTURE PATTERN ACCRETION

I Basic Pattern

Material

Fishing, cod-oil rotting, fish-curing, house and boat building (the latter infrequently), net-repairing with wooden needles, oilskins (made formerly by the folk themselves, but now discontinued), bread baking by social inheritance from ancestral patterns, some cookery and its associated terminology basically French-Canadian (jams and jellies and the like made from local berries by empirical use), knitting of woolens and hooked-rug making

Non-Material

Old-French language by social inheritance—terms such as *piastre* (dollar), *quintal* (one hundred and twelve pounds), *goelette* (schooner), legends of buried treasure, visitations, and the like, *le violoneux*—the playing of old French-Canadian jigs and quadrilles

II Superimposed Patterns Borrowed from the Eskimo

Material

Eskimo dog culture with all of its associated traits—for example, harness made of sealskin, the dog-team and the dog-sledge (*le cométique*), the handling of the dog-team und the treatment of the animals when they are not needed, sealing and sealskin curing, seal oil, other traits are the making of sealskin boots (*pacs*), and "cossacks" (fur-trimmed winter garments)

III Superimposed Patterns Borrowed from the Montagnais Indians

Material

Trapping and hunting, knowledge of the country north and northwest from the original settlements

Non-Material

Place names

[8] See pp xvi-xvii

IV. Superimposed Patterns Borrowed from the Newfoundland Fishermen

Material

Oilskins (made by the folk themselves twenty-five years ago, factory-made oilskins followed), rubber clothing (introduced about seven or eight years ago), socks, knitted at home, present fishing and cod-curing techniques, terminology of fishing and seamanship mainly in English as schooner, rigging, jib, jumbo, mast, foresail, mainsail, staysail, capelin, jigging, trawling, dory, seine, dipnet, eastly, sou'westly

Non-Material

(Rarely encountered) Irish, English, and American reels played by *le violoneux*, also isolated instances of such played on an accordion

V Superimposition of Modern Mechanization, Factory-made Goods, Modern Means of Transportation Telegraphy, Postal Service

Mechanical Goods and Factory-made Products

One-cylinder internal-combustion inboard motors with which now almost every boat is equipped These engines are of the "make and break" type, and possess from four to eight or more horse-power They come mainly from the Acadia Motor Marine Company, Limited, Lunenberg, Nova Scotia, and are obtained through the Hudson's Bay Company, the L T Blais Company, the Clarke Steamship Company (which acts as carrier for both the Hudson's Bay Company and the L T Blais Company), and certain Quebec Merchants All mechanical parts and accessories, gasoline, and kerosene come via the Hudson's Bay Company or the L T Blais Company

Among the factory-made products which reach Blanc Sablon are to be found such items as modern fishing gear—traps, nets, twine, and the like—rubber goods such as hip boots, hats, and oilskins, and overalls, coats, jackets, and mackinaws Among the household utilities we find chinaware and glassware, lamps, lanterns, table utensils, and other hardware Dry goods may also be procured by the folk, and also certain musical instruments such as victrolas, accordions, and radios There is one dry-cell battery set in Blanc Sablon, belonging to a former Hudson's Bay Company employee, who quit the company's service and opened a store for himself He is not a native, however, originating from Trinity Bay, Newfoundland The community boasts two phonographs, both owned by strongly urbanized natives The accordion is owned and played by an urbanized native, Jean Letemplier Canned goods also enter the community, and come via the Hudson's Bay Company, the L T Blais Company, or directly via the Clarke Steamship Company from Eaton's or Simpson's in Toronto

Transportation

The Clarke Steamship Company, Limited, of Quebec, has several steamers which carry most of the freight to the Hudson's Bay Company posts and to the folk, and handles also mail and passengers every fourteen days between June and November The Newfoundland steamer "Sagona"

also comes every fortnight during this period carrying mail and passengers from Newfoundland

Telegraphy

A telegraph line and telegraph operators from Montreal to Labrador, also the traits associated with the telegraph In all there are about fifteen hundred miles of wire

Postal Service

With most of the associated traits, except that the post office at Blanc Sablon—and the majority of post offices along the North Shore—does not handle money, neither receiving nor transmitting it

VI Traits Diffused from Greenly Island

The Greenly Island Lighthouse, with its complete mechanical equipment, bears some influence upon the Blanc Sablonites, since many visit the Lighthousekeeper and his family, and knowledge of mechanics is partly "diffused" from the island Twice every year a government supply boat assigned to the lighthouse service comes to Greenly Island This vessel brings supplies from Charlottestown, Prince Edward Island—mostly mechanical parts, gasoline, kerosene, coal, canned goods, and other household utilities An occasional aeroplane from Quebec comes here also, and although such were still a source of great wonder, the landing of the German aeroplane, "Bremen," in 1928, with Baron G Hühnefeld, Major Fitzmaurice, and Captain Köhl, literally broke the ice of aeronautical ignorance

VII Formal Schooling

Formal schooling used to be administered generally through Diocesan authority There is no formal schooling now, however In Blanc Sablon the population numbers seventy-eight, and of these fifty percent are illiterate The quasi-literate folk have no books, newspapers, or any other reading matter, and what reading or writing they do is confined mainly to their rare correspondence with friends or relatives in Newfoundland, or Quebec There is the peculiar symbiotic result brought about by influences from Newfoundland compounded with the general North Shore French Canadian culture This symbiosis is particularly noticeable in the use of the two languages—the French and the English The majority of the folk speak both French and English The *habitant* fishermen, whose language at one time was essentially French, with the admission of an occasional English word or phrase, realized that by acculturation to a bilinguality he could more effectively control his own economic situations—at least as regards the Hudson's Bay Company, whose personnel is composed of English-speaking Canadians, and with which he is forced to do business But at the same time his mother-tongue was not neglected, for French is used in family and other social life. In brief, English is the language of the market while

French is reserved for all personal, familiar, social, and intimate things, but while this sort of practice is noticeable in most of the Blanc Sablonites, it does not follow that all the folk speak both French and English with equal facility There are, for instance, several women in the group who speak no English at all,—perhaps because it is the men only who deal with the Hudson's Bay Company Again, others are present who know no French The latter were either born in Newfoundland or hail from that portion of the Labrador coast settled by English speaking *liveyeres*

All other categories being equal, we cannot here, however, speak of a clear linguistic dichotomy—that is, with the folk using French only for one purpose, and English for another On the contrary, it may be said that certain French words such as *goelette, abbé, morue,* and the like intrude into the bulk of the Anglo-Saxon verbiage the same as isolated handfuls of Anglo-Saxon terms become a part of the vocabulary of the habitant who converses in French Even the Newfoundland-Labradorian *liveyere* folk are not exempt from this Thus they call the dog-sled a *comatic,* referring no doubt to the French word *cométique,* used by the Blanc Sablonites

The proximity of Newfoundland is no doubt also responsible for this mixture of the two languages Again—and to reiterate a point already brought under discussion—several of the Blanc Sablonite men have married women from Newfoundland who brought into Blanc Sablon with them their own culture, determining, to a certain extent, the language usages of their husbands Women must be considered always as the culture carriers We have both historic and ethnologic proof that the absence of women has, in the past, been responsible more often than not for the breakdown or total disappearance of culture Furthermore, where bellicose invaders have married the women of the people they have conquered, or, in peaceful invasions or migrations where the men have married into an alien culture, the culture of the women has gradually and almost inevitably predominated over that of the men

VIII Modern Sanitation and Hygiene

These two traits are almost absent in Blanc Sablon The Grenfel Medical Missions located at St Anthony, Newfoundland, Forteau, Newfoundland (that is Newfoundland Labrador, Forteau is about twelve miles distant from Blanc Sablon), and Harrington (an English-speaking settlement of Newfoundland origin on the North Shore about one hundred and twenty-five miles southwest of Blanc Sablon)—these are occasionally influential, along with certain sporadic and inadequate importations such as aids rendered by volunteer nurses who happen to pass through Blanc Sablon The Grenfell Medical Missions have been working in these parts for years, and seem to have beneficient intentions and kindly social attitudes, but their labors at Blanc Sablon, Longue Pointe, Brador, and settlements west of these communities do not seem to be efficacious, and very little instruction and aid in sanitation and hygiene is disseminated The Blanc Sablonites' knowledge of oral hygiene is almost nil Of seventy-eight mouths examined, almost all showed bad tooth decay There is no demand for toothbrushes—the Hudson's Bay Company post carries only two in stock

IX Balloting

Absent

X Legal or Governmental Techniques

Under this heading we have rum-runner chasing by government cutters, taxes, duties, and excises enforced by Fisheries Inspectors, of whom there are at least three in Longue Pointe and one in La Tabatière These men see that salt brought in lots of one hundred and sixty pounds per sack by the Clarke Steamship Company, Limited, from Gaspé, is justly and evenly distributed among the fisherfolk, this being part of the Quebec government's aid toward better and more ordered fishing The fishermen are given this salt free, but the Clarke Company nevertheless charges a fee of thirty-five cents per sack for freightage Infractions of law (resembling legal peccadilloes) are managed by the Revenue Collector who resides in Longue Pointe and who handles all pseudo-notarial work or gives counsel in all legal matters, of which there is an almost complete absence Religious control—under the surveillance of the *abbé*—takes care of civil infractions

PRESENT BLANC SABLON

An Analysis from the Standpoint of the Foregoing

Whatever else the basic pattern may have been during its transplantation three hundred years ago, it seems credible that due to a prolonged isolation away from the mother country its cultural range did diminish because a lack of vital contacts Little speculation is needed to emphasize the fact that by transplantation and acculturation a number of the old home traits disappeared, and due essentially to non-usage To-day, in Blanc Sablon, we have a cultural framework, parts of which are atrophied and parts of which still function fully owing to conditions similar to those that may be encountered in present-day Normandy We may, therefore, consider this basic pattern as a deterioration of a seventeenth century French civilization, which became later an isolated French-Labradorian folk-system exhibiting among its traits and trait-complexes continued survivals of that civilization—for example, the Roman Catholic faith

Upon this remnant of Norman French inheritance a few material traits of the Eskimos have been grafted, as indicated in section II of the foregoing chart That the early French pioneer came into contact with the Eskimo cannot be doubted, the traits which he borrowed are easily demonstrable A few families living within the St Augustin archipelago may be found who are the results

of the intermarriage of the Eskimo with both French and English settlers

The same is true of the Montagnais Indian, whose trapping and hunting techniques have become in part the techniques of the white population and superimposed upon their basic fishing pattern Place names such as Napetipi, Shecatica, Mistanoque, Coxipi, and Mecatina exist side by side with French names, for while the latter have had a tendency to displace the former, a great deal of the Montagnais Indian nomenclature has remained embedded in the intrusive culture.

The proximity of Newfoundland, and with it the ease with which contacts may be made, either by sailboat or by dog-team, is responsible both for much of the bilinguality of some of the folk and the adoption of certain strictly English nautical and piscatorial terminology, plus certain material traits which have been indicated in the chart It should be stressed that the English language has become the language used by the folk in their economic activities, while their mother tongue, French, continues to be used as a primary tool for social and religious participation

The one-cylinder internal-combustion motor which has replaced man-power is one trait which was readily adopted by the folk because there was an urgent need and a *raison d'être* for its acceptance The behaviour pattern and the language which have become woven about this contrivance are also logical sequences following upon the adoption of this mechanistic trait In fact, it would seem that this type of marine engine and its easily-adjusted parts should be looked upon as one of the possible transition features of the folk-system as it gradually merges into a rudimentary urban system

Of telegraphy we have made mention not only in the chart but in previous chapters This trait, introduced some thirty years ago, was at first frowned upon by unbelievers who thought it to be a contraption of the devil Had it not been for the indomitable pioneering efforts of M Alfred Cormier, himself a strongly urbanized personality, the attitudes of the folk to and the use of the single telegraph wire would undoubtedly have been much slower in developing But even to-day the demands the folk place upon telegraphy are light, and the service is used only when something in the lives of the folk goes radically amiss, such as a bad accident or a dangerous illness

The postal service is meagre to an extreme Only first, second, and fourth class mail is received, and only first and fourth class mail sent out, and that mainly by the Hudson's Bay Company contacting its headquarters in the west In winter this service is effected by means of dog-teams, which run the four hundred odd miles between Natashquan and Blanc Sablon in relays, in summer, the waterways are used There is no money-order service in connexion with the foregoing, and thus the postal traits are not fully "diffused" in their entirety

The Greenly Island lighthouse, possessing a great number of urban traits, may be looked upon as a strong link between the city and the folk system. It helps to "diffuse" many urban traits and complexes into both Blanc Sablon and Longue Pointe The couple who live on the island, while of folk descent, have yet decided urban attitudes traceable to former contacts with Quebec and Charlottetown, the former of which has been visited by the keeper on several occasions

As for factory-made products, some of which have fully replaced local home-made products, the reader is warned not to be misled by the specially itemized list of goods sold by the Hudson's Bay Company It is true that those articles listed in the inventories both of the Hudson's Bay Company and the L T. Blais Company may be readily obtained by the folk if desired, but the fact is that they are not. Certain goods are more frequently purchased than others, and these come under the heading of necessities The material armamentarium of the fisher-folk is exceedingly meagre, and, as already pointed out elsewhere, only the primary human needs are heeded and satisfied The folk have trouble enough in satisfying such basic needs for food, clothing, etc, without dissipating their energies and marketable wealth in fish for all the products carried by the Hudson's Bay Company There is naturally admiration on the parts of the folk for well-fashioned machine-made goods, but these people cannot afford to pay the prices demanded.

But the Hudson's Bay Company itself brings a certain influence to bear upon the Blanc Sablonites It is, above all, a *soi disant* representative of the city system—that is, its ways are true city ways The official in charge comes from Toronto, the three clerks from Montreal Before the annual freeze-up the official and his wife return to Ontario, the clerks, however, remain, and may be

said to hold the urban fort in continuing the commercial transactions of the company Generally such men as these sign contracts with the home office and agree to remain at their posts for a period of three years They are later rewarded by being transferred as stock clerks or office clerks to less far-flung posts or even to the home office

No newspapers reach Blanc Sablon In this trait the folk again differ from the people of the city, for whom scarcely a day passes without the reading of newspapers The only books to be found in Blanc Sablon are in the hut of the postmistress—and all of them are of a religious nature, such as the prayer book A first magazine subscription in this isolated community was secured in 1934 During the month of August a magazine salesman made an appearance in the three communities—Blanc Sablon, Longue Pointe, and Brador—soliciting subscriptions to various United States periodicals One subscriptions was sold to a former Hudson's Bay Company employee another, to the customs officer at Longue Pointe But lest we are tempted to look upon this feature as an additional and important intrusion of the city patterns, it should be mentioned that no magazines were sold to the folk themselves, who are neither subscribers nor readers of magazines or newspapers

Modern (urban) sanitary measures—or any knowledge of such —are conspicuously absent throughout Blanc Sablon, where a proper observance of them would mean so much to the folk Nor is there any general knowledge or understanding of modern hygienic regulations such as regards quarantine and its enforcement The physical factors themselves militate against these people. Blanc Sablon lies partly in a swamp which extends from the village to the foot of the nearby mountain range and which formed from mountain freshets It harbors breeding-places for mosquitoes and other insect pests. This stagnant water, mingling with the muck and the debris covering the surface of the rock, makes walking unpleasant from one end of the village to the other Tortuous routes must be chosen in order to avoid being ankle-deep in mud True, this condition was recently somewhat remedied by the two sib groups, who dug a narrow and shallow trench which drained off some of the surplus water; yet the situation was not measureably improved, since the arrival of spring always brings a fresh deluge from the hills down upon the village, erasing

the previous year's work On the whole, however, the folk seem to anticipate such adversities and accept them almost passively, in marked contrast to the people of the city for whom such conditions would be intolerable and unthinkable

"The hygienic conditions (both corporeal and extra-corporeal) . the preparation of food, particularly of bread, leaves much to be desired Dishes are not very delicate Our *habitant* hardly ever thinks of changing the air in the house Especially in winter, when the double windows and doors are kept carefully closed, when the stove is redhot, when most of the members of the family are kept indoors most of the time—the women nearly all the time—and when numbers of visits are made during the long evenings, the air becomes vitiated [9]

Such is the isolated folk system Blanc Sablon to day The double windows of the bedrooms cannot be forced opened, they are kept nailed down the year round. There are no toilets or "privies" and no baths in the village, in fact very few facilities for bodily cleanliness There is only one small outhouse in the entire community belonging to Thomas Letemplier, built probably because he saw one in the household of his brother on the more mechanized Greenly Island Thomas has been accused of putting on airs Again, bathing by any of the members of the community is exceptionally rare, even during the warmer months of the summer There is, it is true, a good, shallow, sandy cove near the village where this might easily be accomplished, for here the ferocious dog-fish do not come, but the folk never make use of it Perhaps the omnipresent odor of cod-fish and of rotting cod-oil which permeates the whole community helps to conceal any bodily exhalations which might otherwise be noticed outside of the huts, so that no complaints are heard among the folk themselves Within the huts, however, an opulent variety of odors is noticeable at all times, but particularly in summer Then, at least in so far as the visitor from the city is concerned the heavy emanations from the drying woolen socks suspended at the backs of the stoves combined with certain (dubious) perspiratory effects, the property of the several members of each group, make it a pleasure, if not a vital necessity, to escape by going out into the crisp ocean air as soon as one's sleep is over

[9] *Cf* Wilfrid Bovey, *Canadien* (Toronto, 1933), p 188

Of seventy-eight people examined in Blanc Sablon approximately ninety-five percent had bad tooth decay. Only two of the folk had some good teeth, those of all the others were in various stages of decay. The ages of those so infected ranged from eight to sixty-four years The number of teeth infected averaged about eight (in some instances even more) per mouth Mouth examination of the dentures of all the married and unmarried women revealed that the majority of them had few good teeth, the others being in various stages of decay, to say nothing of quite evident interstitial gingivitis and caries At least seventy-five percent had twelve or more teeth missing, the rest of the dentures being decayed up or down to the gum line Among children the dentures appeared to be better than those of the parents, but the average was still about five bad teeth per mouth, ranging from two to twelve Forty-four children between the ages of six and twenty were examined

There are several reasons for the generally poor condition of the teeth of the members of all three communities M Edgar Rochette, of the Quebec legislature, who visited the North Shore in 1926, fixes the blame for the most part on the absence of good drinking water *"J'ai également remarqué qu'un service, d'hygiène dentaire s'imposait Il est aujourd'hui prouvé hors de tout doute que des mauvaises dents sont la cause d'un grand nombre d'états pathologiques Or, on trouve sur la côte un grand nombre de personnes qui ont les dents dans un état affreux de carie et de pyorrhée, cela est principalement dû à la mauvaise eau que l'on est obligé de boire en certains endroits"*[10] Again, there is the usual lack of knowledge among the folk as to modern oral hygiene The tooth-brush is a rare object indeed in Blanc Sablon There is no demand whatsoever for such an article, although the Hudson's Bay Company carries *two* of them among its stock in trade. But the true reason, it would seem, should be laid at the door of avitaminoses. For one thing, there is a striking lack of variety in the diet of the folk, who live from month to month virtually on fish and bread alone, introducing into their regimen occasionally some canned foodstuffs. The lack of fresh meat and fresh milk is almost absolute, for the Blanc Sablonites possess neither cows nor goats Moreover, there are almost never any fresh vegetables. And very few of the folk

[10]Edgar Rochette, *Notes Sur La Côte Nord Du Bas Saint-Laurent, et La Labrador Canadien* (Québec, 1926), p 114

use the natural livers of the cod-fish, which is caught by them in such vast quantities

The educational and clinical work accomplished by the Wilfrid Grenfell Medical Missions is meagre, sporadic, and ephemeral in its influence upon the lives of the folk. First of all, the mission and its sub-stations—one at Harrington and the other at St Anthony—are located at intervals of one hundred and twenty-five miles and sixty miles respectively from Blanc Sablon There is no adequate transportation to or from these places save by slow watercraft in summer and dog-team in winter The visits made by the itinerant doctor or nurse are, therefore, insufficient perforce, not only in number, but in quality Whatever good and lasting work is accomplished by the mission goes on *in loco*—that is, wherever the missions are located But even here the attentions of the physicians and the nurses seem to be concentrated on major rather than minor medical and surgical cases The doctor from Harrington makes three visits a year to the North Shore—two in summer, and one in winter But since the territory he covers is, in extent, over four hundred miles from east to west, and takes in at least twenty settlements, including Blanc Sablon, Longue Pointe, and Brador, thorough medical and surgical service seems to be entirely out of the question, and a desideratum rather than a fact

In the absence of such bona fide aid, however, the folk resort of necessity to their own local remedies,—at least for certain of their minor ailments. For example, should a fisherman accidentally embed a fish-hook in his hand, the hook is cut out, the injury is bathed in cold salt-water, and then bandaged with rag Contusions and lacerations are treated somewhat similarly. Headaches are not prevalent For bad colds the folk remain at home and drink tea—or occasionally, though very rarely, cod-oil produced by themselves Work otherwise is continued throughout, however, for no one ceases his customary activities except for a very serious injury This procedure, although under affliction, is perhaps more beneficial than it may seem on the surface, for the fresh open air is certainly more conducive toward recovery than the heavy air of the huts

The child-bearing pattern operating within Blanc Sablon is simple indeed, and the consequence of the lack of knowledge of sex and obstetrical techniques, modern maternal and sex hygiene are unknown The following table will convey some idea of the con-

dition of health of eight Blanc Sablonite women who were both questioned and examined Several of these women even asked advice—which would indicate that medical aid or counsel has been given at some time by the Grenfell Medical Missionaries visiting Blanc Sablon at infrequent periods Perhaps these visits are the source also of the present attitude of the folk toward doctors and nurses and the counsel they have to offer In the folk's seeking aid and information from doctors or nurses or others with some knowledge of medicine is indicated also some urban-folk marginality On the whole, however, the general attitude of the women toward the child-bearing pattern is one of resignation—an acceptance of the *mores* of the group which make child-bearing, with all of its attendant gynecopathic possibilities, a matter of course

Among the folk women there is neither pre-natal nor post-natal care Blanc Sablon has, at present, thirteen mothers, and the health of each has been ruined by deficient diet, laxity and lack of knowledge in matters of modern sanitation and hygiene, and repeated, uncontrolled child-bearing The number of pregnancies as adduced by the preceding table, not a few of which terminate in miscarriage, is characteristic of the general sex behavior of the three communities It is to be noted that almost two-thirds of the women of Blanc Sablon were examined Six of the eight women bore children in time spacings of less than two years The results of such frequent pregnancies under the prevailing hygienic conditions are uniformly menorrhagia, dysmenorrhea—probably ovarian cysts—retroflexed and retroverted uteri, hanging bellies, and prematurely aged appearances

The native technique is extremely simple Menstrual hemorrhages are stopped by tampooning the vaginal passage with a salted cod-fish [11] Another practise observed was the placing of a piece of charred cotton cloth over the umbillicus in the belief that it would cure umbillical pain Such attitudes and procedures as these in folk Blanc Sablon need little stressing when contrasted with certain patterns of the city Within the city pre-natal and post-natal care and feminine hygiene are looked upon as valuable and necessary traits of city life. In the Blanc Sablon folk aid and

[11]Informant, Mme Pierre Constant Baudry, a nurse working for the Departement d'Hygiène, of the Quebec Provincial Government Stations of this department have been introduced at Thunder Bay (Rivière au Tonerre), Rivière St Jean, and Natashquan

counsel are asked only when great pain and copious hemorrhages fall to the lot of the women of the two sib groups [12]

Inadequate obstetrical work accomplished through midwifery must also be taken into account In delivery the uterus, vulva, and cervix are commonly injured There is no post-natal convalescence to speak of Most of the mothers do not remain in bed for longer than three days

TABLE OF HEALTH OF EIGHT WOMEN OF BLANC SABLON

Name	Years Married	Ages of Children	General Disorders
M Lv	21	21, 19, 17, 15, 14, (1 died), 12, 7, (1 died), 3	menorrhagia, dysmenorrhea, uterus retroverted, menstrual periods nine days in duration, children 14 and 12 years old weak
T Lv	18	15, (1 died), 9, (1 died), 6, 4	metrorrhagia and dysmenorrhea
E Lt	16	15, 13, 10, (1 died), 9, 6, 3, 2	died in childbirth, 9, 3, and 2 year olds puny
A Lv	21	20, 18, 15, 13, 8, 7, (2 miscarriages)	menorrhagia, dysmenorrhea, actual age 42, apparent age 55, most of children weak
M Lt	6	6, 4, 3, 2, 4 months, (1 miscarriage)	menorrhagia, dysmenorrhea, displaced uterus, most of children weak
C Lt	20	18, 17, 16, 13, 12, 10, 2, 6 months, (1 miscarriage)	uterus retroverted, umbillical hernia, metrorrhagia, dysmenorrhea, all children anaemic, and most of them weak
L W	17	15, 14, 12, 11, 10, (1 died), 6, 4	dysmenorrhea, 14, 11, and 10 year olds weak
O B	26	26, 24, (1 miscarriage), 20, (1 miscarriage), 16, 13, 11, (climacteric)	menstruates every three weeks, flowing, at each menstrual period for nine days, also tuberculosis

Among other direct and contributive causes of the ill-health of most of the women of the three communities under discussion are their sex habits Sexual intercourse is indulged in almost daily,

[12]The author is not a physician, but possesses some knowledge of gynecology The majority of the conditions reported in various parts of this chapter he deduced mainly from the symptoms described for him by the womenfolk Since the doctor of the Grenfell Mission was not at hand during his visit, the author suggested to some of the sufferers various, though only temporary, remedies

and many women do not abstain even during the menstrual period There are at least four cases where such a practise has led to certain gynecologic complications which cannot be laid entirely at the door of poor midwifery

It may be well to note in passing, however, that in these isolated communities there is a complete absence of all venereal diseases

Thus, we may say that the poor health of most of the folk of Blanc Sablon is due to at least three causes first, the lack of a proper diet containing all of the five vitamins, second, a lack of modern sanitation, house ventilation, bodily cleanliness, mouth hygiene, and the like, and last, repeated pregnancies, deficient obstetrics, and lack of sex hygiene and pre-natal and post-natal care of the women.

CHAPTER VIII

Relations with outside authority[1] may be said to exist mainly as regards infractions of the migratory bird law and then only when the Migratory Bird Officer be present accompanied by a Royal Canadian Mounted Police Constable The folk entertain only a vague impression that somewhere—most probably in Quebec—there is a government or some controlling body which, when the laws are broken or disobeyed, sends out immediately a constable Judicial and legislative powers are known through hearsay only, they cannot be said to function fully in Blanc Sablon

Legal enforcement of the mass education of the young is totally absent in Blanc Sablon Fifty percent of the people are illiterate—the population of Blanc Sablon is seventy-eight, but only sixty-seven people were included in the literacy census, since the remainder were below the age of seven In Longue Pointe, however, formal education is partly engaged in, although not because of legal enforcement, but mostly owing to pressure exerted by the *curé*, and also by community opinion brought into play by the work of the *curé*. "No one can deny that the *curé* (parish priest) is one of the most affecting figures in the social structure of French Canada His presence dominates all national and religious life, he directs the spiritual destinies of his flocks, while closely supervising their social and economic interests . These priests of the soil have acquired a tendency to moderation, and a maturity of judgement which makes them most invaluable counsellors in all the difficult circumstances of life In parishes where professional men are rare, the *curé* is at once the healer of soul and of body, his treatments being as free of cost in the one case as in the other One of the principal claims of the *curé* to our gratitude is their anxious care of the education of the people There is not one educational movement to which they have remained indifferent

[1]Social control treated in Chapters V and VI

They have known what it was to be teachers when necessity compelled, and schools were lacking "[2]

Some of the other persons enjoying a high social status—for example, the Revenue Collector (Douanier), bring their influence to bear upon this social problem also Again, in Blanc Sablon is a quondam schoolteacher, Luke Welsh, who at one time received from the Bishop of Labrador a monthly salary of fifteen dollars for his tutorial services This money, however, was not sufficient to support a family of nine, and the schoolteacher resorted of necessity to other local occupations He was hindered, furthermore, in his educational activities by the attitudes of the older fisherfolk themselves [3] As one expressed it, "I had no schooling and I live, so why should my boy go to school? He don't need it for fishing " Among other excuses given was, "Luke Welsh is too hard on them "

Of universal suffrage nothing is known The folk have no conception of national politics In Blanc Sablon there is no casting of votes, nor are any elections held, and with the complete absence of this pattern the folk entertain, therefore, again only a very vague impression that somewhere—most probably in Quebec—there is some controlling body which, when the laws are broken or disobeyed, sends out a punitive constable

As already pointed out, most of the legalism which enters this region is in the form of prohibitions Thus the Migratory-Bird Officer comes here once a year to see that the puffins and other water-fowl are not molested by the folk Two of the islands facing the mainland on which Blanc Sablon is located—Greenly Island and Isle au Bois—are bird sanctuaries The folk all know the Migratory-Bird Officer and the Royal Canadian Mounted Police constable—who accompanies him *sans* mount *Thus in Blanc Sablon we have a knowledge rather of personalities than of law, two essentially different categories* The same may be adduced of the Fisheries Inspectors and the Fish-Warden All these men—save, perhaps, the Migratory-Bird Officer—are known and addressed by familiar names Not very much awe or deference on the parts of the folk is, naturally, conceded to those individuals who are known, say, as "Joe Skin," as one of the officers is familiarly called throughout the three communities As an additional illustration

[2] Georges Bouchard, *Other Days Other Ways*, tr by Alan Hunt Holley from *Vieilles Choses Vieilles Gens* (Montreal, 1928), pp 41-44

[3] For further observations on education, corroborating what has already been given, see p. 105

of this same point, when the Royal Canadian Mounted Police rum-runner made an appearance in these waters in search of a liquor smuggler from the French island, Isle St Pierre, the folk regarded the whole matter as a humorous event Judicial and legislative categories likewise are known through hearsay only they cannot be said to function in Blanc Sablon at all in the true sense of the words

Until very recently, the majority of the folk looked upon commercial debts incurred by themselves as something of but slight importance and to be paid only when they wished or were quite ready to pay Some of them had even forgotten certain old obligations contracted several years ago But their seeming attitude of indifference toward the discharge of their own personal commercial debts and contracts received a severe jolt by the sudden action of L T Blais, who had advanced supplies and materials to them for many years In order to impress his folk clientele with the urgency and necessity of discharging their old obligations Blais confronted a number of them with "test cases," last September (1934) and hailed several of them into "court" at Blanc Sablon (The governmental court is located at Sept Isles, about four hundred and sixty miles west of Blanc Sablon) The local Game-Bird Warden, acting as bailiff, delivered a sort of legal summons On the following day the offenders, greatly agitated, but more at a loss for what procedure to follow, were asking counsel of almost everyone The "test case" was efficacious apparently, since Blais was assured that he would be paid at the termination of the fishing season.

Formal law is represented also by the *douanier*, or local exciseman, M Edouard Cormier, who resides in Longue Pointe, and whose status has already been discussed in a preceding chapter. Although, because of the esteem in which both he and his family are held, he is never referred to as other than M Cormier, he is yet regarded as is, for example, Joncas—that is, as a reputable neighbor with a status, rather than as a *douanier* representing the Canadian government, and possessing certain legal powers The folk speak of the friendliness of both him and his wife, and of his ownership of a cow and a horse, rather than of his duties as Custom's Officer To the visiting Newfoundlanders from across the Strait of Belle Isle he may personify law, to the folk, however, he is simply a local product having an enviable status and better economic advantages than most other people of the three communities

Civil law comes into play occasionally with its violation Criminal law—in its various devious functions at least—is virtually unknown There have been no murders and no homicides here for at least several decades "Regarding our patrols in the Blanc Sablon district, the same are made whenever deemed necessary, sometimes once a year . Dr Lewis (Migratory-Bird Officer, of Ottawa) and his escort make theirs once a year only With regard to murders, as far as can be ascertained, none were committed in that region during the past fifty years The people around Blanc Sablon are peaceful "[4] Other violations of the law, such as theft, are likewise meritoriously absent One singular case of burglary, however, should be mentioned at this point Two adolescent boys of Longue Pointe broke into M Cormier's little store and carried away some of its stock, including tobacco and sweets They were soon apprehended, but instead of exercising his legal powers and handing the culprits over to the Royal Canadian Mounted Police, M Cormier chose another recourse The local *abbé* devised the punishment, which was enforced by the wronged party, M Cormier, and dictated to the fathers of the offenders M Cormier tied the stolen articles on the Boys' backs, and the lads were then flogged publicly by their irate fathers from house to house Thus the entire community was able, by tacit consent and silent sanction, to participate in the punishment, and the procedure discouraged future possibilities of the same nature It would seem, therefore, that the local *mores* and not the written laws take firm control of situations of this order

Public opinion controls likewise the relationships of the sexes In this it draws its sustenance from the church *mores* A fifteen year old girl, the daughter of a Longue Pointe resident, was rendered gravid by a man who, although he would not admit his paternity, was well-known by several members of the community of Longue Pointe to be the reprehensible party It was well-known, also, that his family is comparatively well-to-do, and able, therefore, to give financial aid toward the rearing of the illegitimate child No move has been taken in this direction, however. The girl has since become a social outcast, while the young man, although not exactly *déclassé,* is looked at askance by the whole community

[4]Excerpt from a letter mailed me by Inspector I Delvallet, of the Quebec station of the Royal Canadian Mounted Police

One law of the province demands that dogs be kept constantly tied up when their services are not required in order that migratory birds may not be disturbed or destroyed by them This law is almost entirely disobeyed by the folk, with one exception to be found in Jean Letemplier, the Greenly Island Lighthousekeeper Letemplier is a government employee, and a marginal man, and keeps his dogs on a leash during the greater part of the year when the fowl nest on the island, which is, as we already know, a bird sanctuary It is not the birds that suffer, however, but any livestock the community may boast Although the folk of the village of Blanc Sablon have no cows themselves, one of the men in the employ of the Hudson's Bay Company owns two or three head of cattle. On one occasion his small herd was attacked and injured by a pack of dogs belonging to a member of the sib group A cow had its udder torn, and the scrotum of the bull was badly ripped by the joint efforts of the huskies The owner of the cattle shot one dog and drove the rest away But even here no legal action or law enforcement came into play The Fisheries Inspector from Longue Pointe and a Migratory-Bird Officer from Ottawa were interviewed by me concerning the legal enforcement of having the dogs kept in such places where they can do the least harm, but neither of these men attempted to intervene It would seem that huskies cannot be kept chained up if they are to amount to anything in the matter of strength as draught animals Furthermore, by being left free and at liberty to wander where they will, the dogs are able to secure their own food wherever and whenever they can find it. This procedure relieves the folk of the burden of the animals' maintenance, for they have neither time nor inclination to feed their dogs in summer when they are kept constantly busy with fishing, curing, and other vital economic activities It may also be one of the reasons why the folk keep no cattle themselves

From the foregoing data, we may, therefore, surmise that although explicit written laws are not taken into consideration by the folk in their day to day existences, any offenses against the property, the persons, the customs or the *mores* of the community are invariably atoned for through some imposed expiatory acts which have been determined upon by local opinion over a long period of time and which, in themselves, take over the functions of the formally instituted legal codifications of a city system.

CHAPTER IX

(Conclusions)

A PROBLEM STATED

I There exist in subarctic America many small communities of white people of Norman descent, who, because of long isolation, have been able to build up a pattern of living unaffected, or but slightly affected, by modern ways The form and functions of these communities are fairly constant over a long period of time

II On the other hand, there exist in North America large city populations (e g Quebec, Que, St Johns, N F, Charlottetown, P E I), which, because of greater fluidity and daily intercourse with western *Euro-American* culture-currents, constitute a part of the larger world Their form and functions are inconstant over a long period of time

B SPECIFIC PROBLEM STATED

Because of contact with AII, occasional and infrequent though such contact may be, AI begins to take upon itself some semblance of the features of AII It was our purpose to determine the effect of AII upon AI, and the factors conducive to this effect (Because of contact with AII changes have occurred in the mode of life, techniques and attitudes of AI)

C METHOD

For this study Blanc Sablon, an isolated fishing village was chosen Blanc Sablon, consisting of seventy-eight people of Norman descent whose ancestors settled in Labrador about 1640, lies equidistantly between the southwest tip of Greenland and the highly complex city-culture of Quebec

Comparing the present culture pattern of the Blanc Sablonites with the present culture pattern of the inhabitants of the city of

Quebec, the writer took certain indices[1] into consideration These indices constitute what he has referred to frequently as "modern ways " In comparing one culture pattern with another he utilized likewise the traits of a folk community

Urban System

1 Power transportation and service railroads, ships, etc , utilizing steam, electricity, gas, and oil
2 Factory and factory manufacture
3 Modern (scientific) sanitation and hygiene
4 Mechanized and institutionalized means of disseminating information communication by telephone, telegraph, radio, newspaper, books and mails
5 Banking and insurance medium of social security, means of ex change, etc
6 Institutionalized education enforced by penal sanction
7 Institutionalized law (legislation, codification, administration)
8 Attitudes of rational scepticism based on scientific and secular ways of the larger world

Folk System

1. Human and animal transportation . dog-teams, boats, etc
2. Handicraft manufacture
3 Folk remedies
4 Semi-institutionalized means of disseminating information (two or three persons in Blanc Sablon being literate), legends, folk tales; gossip, and grapevine methods for disseminating information (Primary Group methods)
5 Mostly storing of food to establish security, and also the gathering and stacking of fuel Semi-institutionalized banking accounts with the Hudson's Bay Company Trade and barter
6. Semi-institutionalized education (enforced by diffuse sanction)
7 Control by customs and *mores* (e g Church and *Abbé*) All behaviour patterns, social control, religious life of Primary Group nature
8 Attitudes of belief based on the old, sacred and unquestioned ways of the local group

Specific folk culture under observation revealed the following central activity pattern·

Socio-economic Cycle of Blanc Sablon
Major Activities

1 June 30 to August 30 cod-fishing, curing, and drying
2 October 20 to November 30 root-gathering for fuel

[1]The above traits of the material and non-material culture of a large city appear to be typical of western metropolitan areas and foci They have been found to be identical in London, Berlin, Vienna, Paris, Rome, New York, Chicago, Quebec, Montreal, and St Johns, and are essentially alike in all of these cities

Minor Activities

1 June 30 to November 30 occasional sealing
2 August 20 to September 1 berry-gathering (by women and children mainly)
3 September herring-fishing
4 November to March trapping of fur-bearing animals

The conclusions in this study were reached on the basis of comparison of the two aforementioned systems of living (AI being the folk culture or system, AII the city system), not only on the basis of simplicity and complexity, but likewise on the basis of the sacred and ritualistic compared with the secular mode of life

It appears that in the isolated Labradorian folk communities we have the coexistence of the two systems, some traits of one being representative of city culture (often synonymously called civilization), the other being the outgrowth of local development which has been functioning in isolation over a long period of time, is independent of city life and may be termed folk system Even as there may be a biologic marginality in hybrid types, so likewise in any folk community such as the Labradorian Blanc Sablon there may be certain products of culture fusion or variants of the fundamental patterns of the two groups—the city and the folk systems Although the city system exhibits the traits which were used as indices, the study reveals that only some have reached and were incorporated into the Labradorian folk community system and that the further such communities were situated from the influences of the large city (e g Quebec) the less percentually were these traits to be found as transplanted but integral parts of the folk system [2] Moreover, the traits which have been implanted into the folk system were mostly of technical nature—(motors, mechanical parts, factory-made goods, such as canned edibles, finished lumber, printed textiles, factory-made woolens, rubber footwear and jackets, as well as partly functioning postal and telegraph service)

Although the above enumerated city system armamentarium forms now a part of the folk system, it does not follow that the folkways, especially the church *mores*, ceased to function or have been affected by importations of machine technology or that mechanical or factory-made objects have totally replaced these local and sacred ways by the secular attitudes of the city dweller On the contrary, our study reveals that two forms of culture can

[2] See p 99

exist in combination or close integration, forming a marginal system.

The outstanding feature of the conclusion reached is the fact that wherever there are isolated people living in a physical milieu hostile to their necessary conditions of existence such material traits of the city or the factory which reach their isolated culture are taken over first, not only because they may fit snugly into an already functioning technical system, but mainly because they serve their purpose more adequately than the tools of their own making without necessarily affecting the local beliefs of the isolated group

The attitudes of unquestioned belief of the Blanc Sablon folk in the old and sacred objects and ways may be exemplified in their retention of such categories as.

a Strict observance of all religious forms, e g, church attendance, confessions, communions, fasts, prayers, novenas, etc, particularly the belief in the efficacy of prayer to and the intercession of Sainte Anne de Beaupré
b Belief in spirits, apparitions, lights, dreams, 'noises' not accounted for, 'guarded' treasures and exorcisms
c Outspoken fear and awe of all things dead, e g, excavated bones of the victims of shipwrecks
d The unquestioned attitude to such items as child-bearing and multiplicity of pregnancies

Furthermore, in Blanc Sablon a strong desire to conform to or participate in the mechanical advantages of the city system patterns over and above the fishing techniques—such as those concerning one-cylindered motor-boats, factory-made clothing, and the like—is noticeable in the attitude of the folk toward certain factory-made articles which belong more or less to the category of luxuries. Thus to the family of the head sib-man, Old Peter Lavallée, a phonograph, a thermos flask, a safety razor, and a fountain pen seemed desirable These people have never possessed such articles, they have only seen illustrations or heard of them through the catalogues of the Hudson's Bay Company or similar trading companies They might, perhaps, have obtained such things long ago were it not for the fact that they have never been able to afford to trade their fish for other than bare essentials such as food or clothing. Once meeting with these articles, however, they desired them immediately, even going to the extreme of offering to buy them with certain goods such as sealskin boots made by themselves

The eager desire of the folk to possess such articles may aptly be viewed also from the standpoint of desire for status, there can be no doubt that the social status of the possessors of them would be increased—in their own eyes if not in those of others Yet this does not exclude by any means such aspects as serviceability, technological superiority, or any increase in the comforts accruing from such—in short, the general utilitarian advantages of the factory-made over the hand-made articles "The point of material difference between machine-made goods and the hand-wrought goods which serve the same purpose is, ordinarily, that the former serve their primary purpose more adequately They are a more perfect product—show a more perfect adaptation of means to end "[3] Yet, as we have remarked before, factory-made wares are admired not only for their utility, but for their beauty and finish of workmanship also The households of the folk are, therefore, profoundly affected by these objects, and acculturation to them goes on steadily and perceptibly Although articles having ostensibly a practical purpose seem to "take" before all others, a keen desire on the part of the folk is still expressed in their wishing to possess a "graphophone" (phonograph) with which to dispel the monotony of the long winter evenings

It is significant that machine-made goods possessing certain uniform qualities of perfection are considered by the folk to be beautiful This attitude is to be observed again and again whenever there is either mention or exhibition of some of the quite obvious (to us) but insignificant factory-made objects such as, for example, safety razors, shoe brushes, corduroy breeches, shoes, cheap khaki flannel shirts, and similar things of daily city use Unlike Redfield's Tepoztecan folk, the Labradorian *habitant* is quite eager to secure such things, but both the prices fixed by the Hudson's Bay Company and his own basic needs rule out the possibility of his ever acquiring them. Thus what Chase calls lack of need in some of the Mexican folk[4] is not observable among the Labradorian folk, who would be eager buyers of many factory-made goods were they able to afford them An illustration of this is to be found in Pierre (Old Peter) Lavallée's expression of evaluation of our humble armamentarium · "Your country makes wonderful good things "

Imitation, again, imposes a marginality upon the Blanc Sablon-

[3] *Cf* Thorstein Veblen, *The Theory of the Leisure Class* (New York, 1919), p 159
[4] *Bedürfnislosigkeit* (lack of need), *cf* Stuart Chase, *Mexico* (New York, 1931), p 313

ites. Certain practices, through this medium become the property of such people, even though at the time of their acceptance little significance save that of novelty is transmitted with them Thus we have the folk imitating our making of toasted bread However, all of the thus far observed importations are of technical nature and although many of them do now form a part of the local system, they must be considered as *techniques*, which by themselves *do not affect the spiritual* customary life of the folk The folk continue to live under the control of their own *mores*, *they do not question the ways* which guided the lives of their fathers, their attitudes are not skeptical, not sophisticated in the sense in which we view life

To sum up, in the general cultural pattern of the folk of Blanc Sablon one may encounter Eskimo traits, Montagnais Indian traits, Newfoundland culture traits (mostly in language), and the inherited traits of their own French-Canadian folkways, along with a later superimposition of a few traits of the western, mechanized city system pattern, however incomplete it may appear In so far as language is concerned, one may encounter persons speaking either French or English, more frequently, however, does one discover a bilinguality, which, in Blanc Sablon particularly, is more or less evenly distributed The common practice, however, seems generally to be to use English while engaged in economic activities such as trading with the Hudson's Bay Company, and French while in participation with the *curé* or in *paroisse* activities

The group's accepted scheme of life embraces the consensus of views and techniques held by the body of the group as to what is right and good or expedient in the way of human endeavor Although many of the traits of the folk are the result of borrowing, their own folkways and folklore are, in the main, unaffected Consequently, any advance in technical methods, mechanization, formally-enforced mass education—with particular emphasis on modern personal and communal sanitation and hygiene—have not of themselves changed the views and their habits of life, the transformed technical routines constantly arriving from the city have only affected their local techniques As Redfield says, if "they are to draw upon the accumulated experience geographically and historically remote,"[5] they would have to change their attitudes and beliefs, but such change is almost non-existent Generally

[5]Robert Redfield, *Tepoztlan, A Mexican Village* (University of Chicago Press, 1930), p 8

there is opposition on the part of the folk system to rapid cultural changes This opposition does not rest primarily on an interested calculation of material advantages, however, it is rather a quite normal and customary disinclination to any gross departure from the accepted way of belief As yet there are no inroads into this folk system conservatism, and the degree of prolonged exposure to the city system accounts only for the graduality of the technical change

Thus this change of techniques of the Blanc Sablonite folk does not change their sacred views of their local world to suit the demands of an altered local situation and it is not noticeable in and demonstrable by the slow incorporation into their own patterns of machine-made products such as those carried by the trading companies

"The code of proprieties, conventionalities, and usages in vogue at any given time and among any given people has more or less of the character of an organic whole; so that any appreciable change in one point of the scheme involves something of a change or an adjustment at other points also, if not a reorganization all along the line When a change is made which immediately touches only a minor point in the scheme, the consequent derangement of the general scheme, more or less far-reaching, will follow "[6]

Thus far, however, no such change in the moral code or in any other social relationship has been observed The folk continue in their old beliefs of the sacredness of St Anne (and other saints) and the sacredness of the shrines and localities where these holy objects obtain, the efficacy of prayers, fasts, confessions, communions, novenas, etc They likewise continue in their beliefs of legends regarding the spirit-guarded treasures, the existence of "lights" near these places, the existence of ghosts and apparitions of people long dead, of the sacredness of their burial places, of places haunted by these souls

In social and moral control, therefore, Blanc Sablon continues to be a parish unaffected by the sophistication of the larger world.

Thus we must, maintain that the chief reason responsible for the marginality of the Labradorian communities, i. e, the *coexistence* of some of the traits of the city system in a folk system, their implantation into the latter, is the adoption of some of the modern

[6] *Cf.* Thorstein Veblen, *The Theory of the Leisure Class* (New York, 1919), p 201

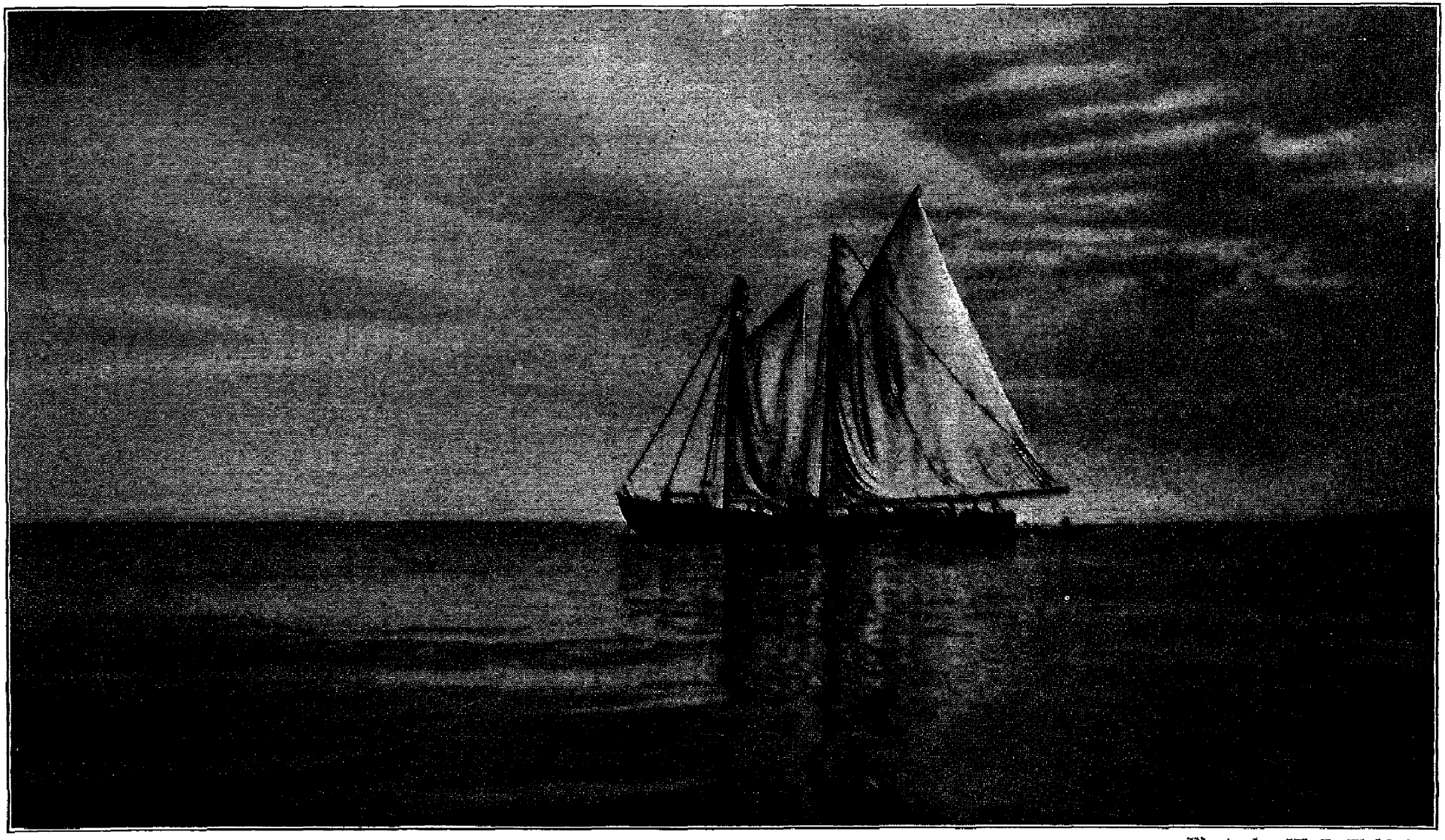


Photo by W. L. Holdefer

"Becalmed"
(Schooner *Alice*, a Conveyance Used by the Author)

mechanical equipments (e. g, one-cylinder gasoline motor) which help the isolated folk community system to pursue its fishing techniques with much greater facility than before the introduction of such articles by the institutions of the city system, but that these do not affect the precepts or *mores* of the social system

The penetration of such commercial institutions as the Hudson's Bay Company and the L T Blais Company, Ltd, or such carrier institutions as the Clarke Steamship Company and the Coyle Steamship Company serving the commercial interests of the two trading companies, the purely governmental institutions such as the Lighthouse service under the Marine Ministry, and the telegraph and mails under the Postal Department, may be regarded as instruments for culture transition leading on the one hand to the creation of such personalities as the *douanier*, the telegraph and mail clerks, the fishery inspectors, the lighthouse keeper, and on the other to a cultural marginality of the isolated folk

Any one of the aforementioned influences as well as their combined effects or related functions may be said to be conducive to the creation of such personalities and also the coexistence of city system and the folk system in an isolated Labrador community

BIBLIOGRAPHY

Amy, Lacey, *Labrador, Home of the Iceberg*, Travel, May, 1916

Bouchard, Georges, *Vieilles Choses Vieilles Gens*, Montreal, 1929

Bovey, Wilfrid, *Canadien*, Toronto, 1933

Cather, Willa, *Shadows on the Rock*, New York, 1931

Chase, Stuart, *Mexico*, New York, 1931

Cvijić Jovan, *La Peninsule Balkanique*, Paris, 1918

Giddings, Franklin H, *Studies in the Theory of Human Society*, New York, 1920

Junek, Oscar Waldemar, *More Homes for Convalescents*, The Modern Hospital, Vol XXXVII, No 1, July, 1931

Lowie, Robert H, *Primitive Society*, New York, 1925

Malinowski, Bronislaw, *Culture*, Encyclopedia of Social Science

Migratory Birds Convention Act and Federal Regulations for the Protection of Migratory Birds, The, Ottawa, Sept, 1933

Miller, Webb, *My Country 'Tis of Thee*, Collier's, The National Weekly, August, 1934

Parkman, Francis, *Pioneers of France in the New World*, Boston, 1914

Peattie, Roderick, *The Isolation of the Lower St Lawrence Valley*, The Geographical Review, Vol V, No 2, Feb, 1918

Radcliffe-Brown, A R, *Andaman Islanders*, Cambridge, 1922

Redfield, Robert, *Tepoztlan, A Mexican Village*, Chicago, 1930

Rochette, Edgar, *Notes sur la Côte Nord du Bas Saint-Laurent et le Labrador Canadien*, Quebec, 1926

Tönnies, Ferdinand, *Gemeinschaft und Gesellschaft*, Leipzig, 1887

Veblen, Thorstein, *The Theory of the Leisure Class*, New York, 1919

Whitbeck, Ray H and Thomas, Olive J, *The Geographic Factor*, The Century Co, 1932

Wissler, Clark, *The American Indian*, Oxford University Press, 1922

UNIVERSAL LIBRARY
140 487
UNIVERSAL LIBRARY